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ABSTRACT

This text focuses on the nature of language learning in the light of modern linguistic analysis. Common linguistic problems encountered by students of eight major languages are examined--Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German, and Russian. The text discusses the nature of language, building new language habits, overcoming interferences, linguistic analysis of the eight languages, and language in context. A bibliography of language texts and audiovisual aids is included. (RL)

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NEW WAYS TO LEARN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Robert A. Hall Jr.

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This book is dedicated to
Frank R. Hancock and Robert G. J. Desmé,
to whose inspiring teaching I owe my first
acquaintance with the French language.

PREFACE

The present book has been written in response to a demand for orientation with regard, not to the learning of one specific language or another, but to the technique of language-learning in general, especially in the light of modern linguistic analysis. With this aim in mind, I have made the entire discussion as general as possible, and have brought in illustrations from the modern languages commonly taught in American schools and colleges, and from Latin as well.

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R.A.H.Jr.

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CONTENTS

Introduction
Chapter 1. The Language-Learning Problem . . 1

Part I. Learning Another Language
Chapter 2. Why Learn Foreign Languages? . . 4
Chapter 3. What Are the Difficulties? 9
Chapter 4. Ways of Learning a Language . . . 17

Part II. The Nature of Language
Chapter 5. Speaking and Writing 25
Chapter 6. Speech-Habits 29
Chapter 7. System and Structure 34
Chapter 8. Meaning 40
Chapter 9. Language and Society 44

Part III. Building New Language-Habits
Chapter 10. Imitating and Memorizing 49
Chapter 11. Discovering the Patterns 59
Chapter 12. Practising the Patterns 67
Chapter 13. Reviewing and Improvising 75

Part IV. Interference from Old Habits
Chapter 14. Sounds 84
Chapter 15. Forms 96
Chapter 16. Syntax 101

Part V. Language in Context
Chapter 17. Real Life and Imagination 109
Chapter 18. Audio-Visual Aids, Realia, and Activities 118

Conclusion
Chapter 19. The Linguistic Approach 125

Appendix A. Eight Major Languages
1. Latin 128

2. Greek 134
3. French 139
4. Spanish 144
5. Portuguese 149
6. Italian 150
7. German 156
8. Russian 161

Appendix B. Phonetic and Phonemic Symbols . . . 169

Bibliography 174

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1. The Language-Learning Problem

"I spent three years in high-school and two years in college on studying French, and I still can't understand, speak, read, or write it. Isn't there some way of learning a language in less time, with less wasted effort, and with some real ability to use it when I'm through?" asks a college junior.

"I put in four years acquiring a working command of German. Now I have to learn Spanish", says an engineer who has just been given an assignment in South America. "Do I have to take another four years for that, just as I did for German? And what will happen if they send me to India and I have to know Hindi? Heaven only knows how many years that will take me!"

We often hear questions like these asked by people of all ages, from high-school-students to mature men and women. Such questions reflect a basic dissatisfaction with the ineffective way foreign languages are all too often taught in our schools, and a realization that a drastic improvement is necessary. The problem is immediate and pressing. The time is past when a knowledge of Latin, French, or German was a mere "frill", available only in schools and colleges patronized by a favored few, and valuable only as an elegant accomplishment of little or no practical use. In today's world, every American is or may unexpectedly come to be in far more contact with the non-English-speaking world than ever before; and this state of affairs will unquestionably be intensified, and rapidly so, during the rest of the twentieth century.

In this situation, we need, not only what has been termed "a stock-pile of strategic language competence", in the shape of a great number of individuals who know

specific languages (both the "usual" ones like Spanish and German, and "unusual" ones like Indonesian and Japanese), but a widely diffused knowledge of how to go about learning any new language with which we may be confronted. Hence the answer to both of the above questions is "No, it certainly isn't necessary to waste a lot of time in learning either the first foreign language you attack, or later ones; and any American can learn one or more languages just as effectively as people of other countries. There exists a body of knowledge about language, called linguistics,[1] on whose findings you can draw to acquire a sound approach to language itself and to the problems of learning a new language. Many of the problems you meet will be the same for your second or third or fourth foreign language as for your first; and if you have a clear understanding of the source of your difficulties and how to meet them, you can save a great deal of time and effort. Even if you are now coming in contact with a foreign language for the first time, it can help you greatly to be able to distinguish between the problems of language-learning in general and the specific problems posed by the particular language you are working on."

This book is intended, therefore, to be of assistance to all language-learners, by giving them a technique, not for learning some specific language (be it Latin, French, Italian, German, or Swahili), but for acquiring any foreign language. Naturally, the fifth or tenth language will come easier than the first, simply as a result of practice in the art of picking up a language; but it is not necessary to wait until one's fifth or tenth language to realize that such a technique exists and can be learned and used with profit.

The difficulties we face in learning a new language arise out of conflicts of several types. Our discussion in this book will be oriented around these conflicts, the problems to

[1] *Linguistics* means "the scientific study of language and its findings", not (as is sometimes thought) the ability to talk a number of languages. Similarly, a *linguist* or *linguistic analyst*, as referred to throughout this discussion, is not some-one who talks many languages, a mere *polyglot*, but a person who analyzes the structure of language from a scientific point of view and with a special technique.

which they give rise, and their solutions. The first question that comes up is why we study a new language at all, and what are the various ways in which we can go about studying it, with a discussion of the merits of these various ways; this topic will be treated in Part I. Some difficulties arise out of incomplete understanding of the nature of language itself, and the inaccurate notions on this point that we learn in school and from people around us; a clearer picture of the nature of language itself, as given in Part II, is therefore necessary. The need to build new habits in learning a new language is taken up in the third part, and the possibility of interference from old habits, in the fourth. Since language is used, not in isolation from the rest of life, but as a vital part of the activity of a human community, Part V will take up the function of language in its social context: the nature of meaning, its correlation with culture, and the cultural differences with which languages are associated. The linguistic approach as a whole is discussed in the Conclusion. Appendix A takes up the characteristic difficulties facing the learners of eight commonly studied languages, and Appendix B explains the phonetic and phonemic symbols used in our discussion.

Chapter 2. Why Learn Foreign Languages?

"Why waste your time studying a foreign language?" is a question that language-learners not infrequently hear, often followed up by remarks like these:

"We don't need foreign languages here in America: everybody in this country talks English, and anybody that doesn't is either lazy, stupid, or un-American."

"Most of our immigrants' problems would be solved if they'd only stop speaking Spanish and talk English instead" (from an English-teacher in a Texas town).

"Everywhere you go in the world, people talk English. It's foolish to waste time on talking the way they do in some out-of-the-way jerk-water country."

"There isn't any sense in making graduate students learn French, German, or Russian for the master's or doctor's degrees. They never look at anything in any of those languages after they've passed their reading-examinations, and everything that's of any value is abstracted or translated anyhow."

"You'd do better to learn to think straight in your own language rather than to pick up a whole lot of strange tongues without having anything to say in any of them. Look at the European hotel-waiters who know ten or twelve languages but can't discuss anything outside of menus and wine-lists."

Each one of these arguments has a superficial attractiveness, starting from facts that are well known but drawing exaggerated and unjustified conclusions from them. They all have in common the assumption that, since most people in the United States speak only English, we do not need to use any other language in our daily affairs or in our contacts with other nations. Even within our own

borders, there are a great many speakers of other languages —think especially of the Mexican-Americans in the South-West from Texas to California, of the Puerto Ricans in the New York area, of the Cubans in Florida, and of the French-Canadians in New England. These and similar groups include many individuals of high abilities, who are being allowed to drop out of school and denied participation in American life simply because they speak a language other than English. Of course they should be helped to learn English—by an effective, scientifically based approach—but, if they were taught in their native language as children, and dealt with in it by their employers, they could become useful citizens instead of delinquents as so many of them do. These groups also constitute a reservoir of language-competence which should not be neglected in our present shortage of persons who are truly bilingual in English and other languages. For this very practical reason, as well as for more general considerations of cultural value, children of "hyphenated American" (Italo-American, Greek-American, etc.) families should never be made ashamed of their foreign-language back-ground, but should be encouraged to keep up and develop their skill in their parents' tongues.

Outside of the United States, it is even more clear that we can no longer afford to deal with other nations on a "Let 'em learn English" basis. In the hey-day of political and economic imperialism, it was easy for speakers of English to insist that their subjects and their customers use English in dealing with them, and to take an attitude of contempt towards all other languages. Needless to say, this attitude called forth strong resentment, and in many parts of the world (particularly the Far East and Latin America) the necessity of using English is associated with a hated subservience to Anglo-American domination. On the other hand, a foreigner coming to a country with some knowledge of its customs and some interest in its language is often especially welcome. In such nations as Hungary and Greece, the inhabitants have long since learned to expect foreigners (particularly Americans) to show no interest in the language of the country; hence an American who

knows something of Hungarian or modern Greek, even enough to say *"Köszönöm szépen"* for "Thank you" in Budapest or *"Efkharistó polí"* in Athens, meets with especial friendliness and gratitude.

There are many reasons why we undertake the study of a foreign language, but they may be summed up under four major headings:

1. Perhaps the most basic reason is simply to be able to communicate directly (by word of mouth or in writing) with others who use the language involved. We may be intending to travel in one or more countries where the language is spoken; any trip to a foreign country is infinitely more rewarding, in personal contacts and in cultural understanding, if we know its language and can talk directly to its people and understand what they are saying to (and about!) us. The same may be said of business contacts, in which we may save much time and avoid many misunderstandings if we know our customer's language—to say nothing of the good will we gain if we deal with him in his own language instead of forcing him to use English. If we are working in any branch of science, we naturally wish to exchange information with other scientists as effectively as possible, and we can do this best through personal communication. Missionary workers of course desire to speak directly to the hearts of those they wish to convert; for this purpose, the most effective channel is the prospective convert's native language, in which he not only thinks but expresses his innermost feelings most fully. More general than the aims we have just mentioned is the desire to expand our intellectual and cultural horizons through contact with people of another culture, so as to know how some of the rest of the world lives.

Some or all of these aims are frequently dismissed as "merely practical", "bread-and-butter necessities", or as involving "only barber-shop conversation". We must realize, however, that even the most "down-to-earth" and "practical" use of a language requires communication with and understanding of other individuals and their cultural backgrounds, and hence involves human relations in their most essential forms. Ordinary, every-day "shirt-sleeves

talk" (as it has been called) underlies all further use of language in its more advanced or complicated manifestations, and is therefore not to be despised or neglected.

2. "But I don't care about speaking the language—all I want is to read what I find written in it", is the attitude we often hear expressed, particularly by scientists whose chief concern is to keep up with the most recent developments in their fields. This "reading-objective", as it is often called, is wholly justified within the framework of scientific research, in which our only concern is with intellectual content and objective meaning. In humanistic and especially literary study, however, we are interested not only in the intellectual content of a work but also in its aesthetic effect, and this we can feel and evaluate only if we can put ourselves in the position of native speakers of the language in which the work is written and members of the culture out of which it has grown. To attain such a standpoint for evaluating a work of literature, the "reading-objective" is not enough, since the aesthetic and literary effect of a work depends, not merely on how it looks on a printed page, but even more on how it sounds as spoken.

The "reading-objective" differs from the goal of direct communication discussed above under (1), in that it involves only a one-way contact with the foreign language and its users: the learner desires, not to exchange ideas with living persons, but simply to receive messages from whoever may have written them down. This ability is by no means to be despised, since it is the only way in which we can receive and assimilate the wisdom which our predecessors have transmitted to us by writing down what they had to say. However, a "reading-ability" is, by its very nature, incomplete in contrast to the complete ability to receive a message and reply to it in the give-and-take of conversation. For "dead" languages like Latin, Ancient Greek, Sanskrit, or Classical Arabic, this is the main kind of ability demanded of present-day learners, as it is for scientists desiring only to read other scientists' work. For these restricted aims, it is legitimate to reduce one's sights and use only such techniques as will give the desired result.

3. A more general reason for knowing something about

at least one foreign tongue is the relativity of language-structure. Every native speaker of a language thinks, because he talks a given way, with a given grammatical system and a given set of meanings for the words of his language, that that is the only natural and normal way of talking and thinking.[2] Yet our native language-habits are only a pair of spectacles, as it were, through which we view the world around us. People who speak other languages have different pairs of linguistic "spectacles", through which the world seems different to them from what it seems like to us. Many misunderstandings arise simply because we fail to realize that some-one else's language has different structural characteristics and different meanings from our own—as when a Frenchman uses the verb *demander* "to ask" and we react as if he had "demanded" what he was merely asking for.

It is harmful for any-one to be unaware of these differences in fundamental outlook which are caused by language-structure; such ignorance is at the root of a great deal—though by no means all—of the misunderstanding and hostility that beset naïve members of different cultures. It is not only helpful, but necessary, for every person to have some knowledge of at least one other way of talking, in order to realize that his or her own way of talking and living is not the only or even the most reasonable one. A mere smattering of a foreign language, or information picked up second-hand, is not enough for this purpose; first-hand acquaintance and penetration in reasonable depth are essential. This principle of linguistic and cultural relativity is the most valid reason for extending second-language-learning to as many members of the population as we can possibly reach.

4. Some persons are interested in language as an object of study and analysis in its own right. The prime aim of these learners is not the ability to speak a number of lan-

[2]The classical instance of such an attitude is found in the conversation between Huck Finn and Jim on the raft, in which Huck finds it impossible to persuade Jim that it is as natural for Frenchmen to use French as it is for Englishmen or Americans to use English (Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Chapter 14).

guages—mere polyglottism—but rather the scientific examination of linguistic systems and of human language-behavior as a whole. For those of us who have this aim, the analysis of language and its structure is a highly interesting occupation; but we realize that it is not necessarily so for the ordinary speaker of any given language, any more than the normal man cares greatly about the structure of the leg-muscles or the digestive organs. Most people are interested in their language only as an effective medium for communication, and are concerned about its structure and functioning only if something goes wrong, if they have difficulties in dealing with their own language or a foreign one. When such difficulties arise, the contribution of the linguistic analyst is essential for meeting and over-coming them, as we shall see in our next chapter.

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"Reading-objective": Coleman.
Relativity of language-structure: Lado, 1957; Twaddell.
(A full listing of each reference title will be found in the Bibliography.)

Chapter 3. What Are the Difficulties?

We begin to have trouble as soon as we set out to learn any foreign language. In Thomas Hardy's novel *Jude the Obscure*, the hero orders Latin and Greek grammars by mail, and when they come he is badly disappointed (Chapter I.iv):

> He concluded that a grammar of the required tongue would contain, primarily, a rule, prescription, or clue of the nature of a secret cipher, which, once known, would enable him, by merely applying it, to change at will all words of his own speech into those of the foreign one. His childish idea was, in fact, a pushing to the extremity of mathematical precision of what is everywhere known as Grimm's Law—an aggrandisement of rough rules to ideal completeness. Thus he assumed that the words of the required language were always to be found somewhere latent in the words of the given language by those who had the art to discover them, such art being furnished by the books aforesaid.
>
> [When the grammar-books arrived] . . . he learnt for the first

time that there was no law of transmutation, as in his innocence he had supposed (there was, in some degree, but the grammarian did not recognize it), but that every word in both Latin and Greek was to be individually committed to memory at the cost of years of plodding.

Phrased in a positive way, this means that each language has features which differ from those of every other, and that each language which is to be learned (what Hardy terms the "required language" and what is now called the "target-language", often abbreviated TL) must therefore be studied on its own terms, not those of the language which the learner is using as a point of departure (Hardy's "given language", now called the "learner's language" or LL). Hardy does not describe the details of Jude's actual work on Latin and Greek; but Jude undoubtedly found that not only were the individual words different, but also the way in which they were put together. For Greek, there was the additional problem of a new alphabet to learn; and, even had Jude been attacking a modern language, he would have found new and unaccustomed features of sound.

Pronunciation is, in fact, the first aspect of any living language with which we have to deal, since all the rest of our learning depends on our being able to understand what we hear and to make ourselves understood in the target-language. Familiar examples of difficult vowel-sounds are those made with the top of the tongue raised high in the front of the mouth and with the lips, not stretched (as in the sound written *i* in English *machine*), but rounded and puckered out at the same time, such as the French sound written *u* in *tu* "you", *mur* "wall", or *sûr* "sure", etc., and the similar sound in German written *ü*, as in *Güte* "goodness", *hüten* "to protect", or *spülen* "to rinse". Russian has a vowel-sound whose name is *"yerí"*, which is made with the top of the tongue raised high in the center of the mouth and with the lips not rounded at all; it is written with the character ы, as in был /bíl/ "was" or мы /mí/ "we".[3] An example of difficulty with consonants is the pronunciation of English *th*, in its

[3]Letters between slant lines represent the *phonemes* or significant units of sound of a language; letters used in this way constitute a *phonemic transcription* (cf. below, Chapter 5).

two varieties (as in *this* and *thick*), which causes considerable trouble for Europeans and others who have no corresponding sound in their own languages, and who consequently say either "zis" and "sick", or "dis" and "tick".

Not only single sounds, but over-all habits of dividing syllables, of stressing them, and of raising and lowering the pitch of the voice over the entire length of an utterance, vary from one language to the next. Misunderstandings, sometimes amusing and sometimes not so amusing, can arise as a result of these differences. In English, the noun-phrase *black cow* has both the literal meaning of "a cow which is black" and also "a drink made of ice cream and Coca-Cola"; it is by no means identical in pronunciation with the compound *black-out*. The compound has one full stress (represented by ˊ) on the first syllable, and another stress which is intermediate between full and weak (represented here by ˋ): *bláck-òut*, whereas the phrase *bláck ców* has two full stresses. There is a different type of transition (often called *juncture*, from the way in which sounds are *joined* together) between the two syllables: *black cow* has two /k/-sounds in rapid succession, whereas there is only one /k/ in *black-out*. Speakers of Spanish, however, do not have these differences in stress and juncture in their normal speech, and also are not accustomed to hearing a /t/ at the end of a word; so they interpret English *black-out* as if it were the same as *black cow*, and in Puerto Rico one frequently sees a Coca-Cola float advertised as a "black-out". Less amusing, perhaps, was the instance in which an interesting missionary in China, who was just beginning his study of Chinese, failed to hear the difference in pitch between two words, that for "chicken" and that for "wife", which were otherwise the same; when he tried to tell the cook to kill a chicken and cook it for dinner, what he actually said meant "Kill your wife and cook her"!

Grammatical systems differ very widely, even among the languages of western Europe, to say nothing of those of other parts of the world. We are accustomed to thinking of our familiar parts of speech—noun, adjective, verb,

pronoun, etc.—as being universal, so that we are surprised to find that they are not found in many, perhaps even most, of the world's languages. It is confusing enough for a speaker of English to find that in Russian, for example, the "past" of verbs has to change its form in accordance, not with the person of the subject, but with its number and gender (as do adjectives in West European languages), as in я был /já bíl/ "I [man speaking] was", он был /ón bíl/ "he was", but я была /já bilá/ "I [woman speaking] was", она была /oná bilá/ "she was". It is considerably more difficult for us to grasp the system of a language like Japanese, where adjectives are simply a subclass of verbs, or in the Iroquoian languages, where a verb-form includes an indication, not only of the person, gender, and number of the subject and object, but also of the various types of action, and may incorporate noun objects, which often are derived in their turn from similarly complex verbs. The resultant forms often seem to us as long and complicated as whole sentences, as in /waʔthatekhwahlakslatokʌhtiʔ-tslatasé:/ "He went around to the other side of the altar".[4]

In English we are familiar with certain changes in the form of a word which indicate differences in the number referred to (*book* versus *books; was* versus *were*), in the person speaking (*I am* versus *he is*), and in the time of the action referred to (*we buy* versus *we bought*). Variations of this kind in the form of words often serve to tie one part of a sentence together with another, as when, say, the subject must *agree* with its verb (*I am*, but *we are; he is*, but *they are*); when they do, they are known as *inflectional* variations, and the changes in form which they involve are the *inflection* of a language.[5]

In inflection, there are many kinds of meanings which can be conveyed by variation in the forms of words. Even in

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[4]The symbol ʔ indicates a glottal stop or "catch in the throat"; ʌ is a vowel like that of English *but;* and : indicates that the vowel symbolized by the preceding letter is long.

[5]Do not confuse this sense of the term *inflection*—the only sense in which it is used by linguistic analysts—with the wide-spread use of the same term in the meaning "rise and fall in the pitch of the voice". For this latter meaning, linguists normally prefer *intonation*.

our familiar categories of number, person, and time of the action, there can be more distinctions made than we are accustomed to. Thus, in addition to singular and plural, some languages have *dual* forms to refer to "two" (no more and no less) and *trial* for "three", as in the Melanesian language of Annatom Island: /aien/ "he", /arau/ "the two of them", /ahtaij/ "the three of them", and /ara/ "they" (four or more). In verbs, likewise, there may be distinctions, not only in the time of the action (*tense*), but also in the kind of action involved (*aspect*), or the speaker's readiness to vouch for what is being said. Thus, in Latin, every normal verb has two stems, of which one, the *imperfective*, indicates that the action referred to is not (was not, will not be) ended, whereas the other, the *perfective*, tells the hearer or reader that the action is (was, will be) over and done with: for instance, *vīvit* means "he is living", whereas *vīxit* is "his living is a thing of the past [= he is dead]". In German, it is convenient for newspaper-reporters to use a special verb-form, the so-called *present subjunctive* or *quotative*, to deny responsibility for the accuracy of what they are reporting, as in *China ist am Kriege schuld* "China is to blame for the war", versus *Er sagt, China sei am Kriege schuld* "He says [that, according to him,] China is to blame for the war".

The combinations in which words may occur, their *syntax*, can also present formidable obstacles. As speakers of English, we are accustomed to having the subject come before the verb, and both of these before the indirect and the direct object, in normal statement-sentences: *I love Lucy; I love her; The boys gave their mother a birthday-present.* But in other languages, the order may be quite different. In some instances, the order of subject, verb, and object is equally fixed, but in accordance with other principles. In Spanish, for instance, "He gives it to me" has to be *Me lo da*, literally "To-me it he-gives", and no other order is possible. Sometimes the rules for this type of order get quite complicated, as in the combinations of object-pronouns and verb in French. In other instances, the order may be freer, but a variation in order will indicate a difference in emphasis: thus, Latin *Canis hominem*

mordit is "The dog *bites* the man", since in Latin the position of greatest emphasis is at the end of the sentence. If we change the order and put *hominem* "the man" at the end, we get *Canis mordit hominem* "The dog bites *the man*"; putting *canis* at the end, the result is *Hominem mordit canis* "*The dog* bites the man".

Even what we think of as a sentence is not necessarily the same in all languages. The old grammar-book definition of a sentence as "the expression of a complete thought, containing a subject and a predicate", is not valid, even for English: the shout of "Fire!" certainly contains a complete enough thought for its hearers to act on it immediately and definitively, but it has no subject or predicate in the grammatical sense of these terms. English structure conditions us to expect a subject and a predicate in every "full" sentence, but in Latin and the conservative Romance languages such as Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, a sentence can consist of a verb (with or without modifiers) alone, without any noun or pronoun subject: e.g. Latin *venit*, Italian or Spanish *viene*, Portuguese *vem*, all "he comes". Nor can we say that such sentences simply have an "understood subject" (which the structure of English tempts us to think), because, with some verbs in these languages, there can never be a subject, as in Latin *ninguit*, Italian *névica*, Spanish *nieva*, Portuguese *neva* "it snows". In Chinese, sentences frequently occur with no subject or verb at all: for instance, to ask some-one how he or she is, one can inquire simply *Hau, pu hau?* (literally "Well, not well?").

Quite aside from features of grammatical structure, the meanings of foreign languages can give us trouble, both because they segment the world of experience differently, and because they reflect differences in behavior-patterns and cultural outlook. We might think that such an objectively measurable phenomenon as the range of colors in the spectrum would call forth the same set of names in all languages; but this is by no means the case. In English, we have the seven principal divisions of *violet, indigo, blue, green, yellow, orange,* and *red*. Shona, a language of Rhodesia, has a division into three main colors: *cipswuka*

"orange-red-purple", *citema* "blue-black", and *cicena* "green-yellow-white"; and the speakers of Bassa, a Liberian language, divide the spectrum into only two chief categories, *zīza* "red-orange-yellow" and *hui* "purple-green-blue". Latin had an adjective *caeruleus*, applied first to the bluish-green or greenish-blue of sea-water, and hence never translatable exactly by either "green" or "blue", but meaning something in between. No two languages ever have vocabularies which divide up the world in exactly the same way, especially in metaphorical use of words: for example, English *joint* refers both to the articulations of arms and legs, and to a somewhat low gathering-place, especially for recreation ("beer-joint"), but German *Gelenk* "joint" would never be used in this latter sense.

Similarly, no two groups of people ever have quite the same culture, and therefore the terms with which they express their ways of living will inevitably be different. In Italy, one of the most important things in the ordinary person's life is the concept and opinion which others have of him, or which he thinks they have. The Italian term for this is *figura* "figure", and the two phrases *una bella figura* "a fine figure" and *una brutta figura* "an ugly figure" mean far more to an Italian than they do to members of other cultures. Naturally, such special terms and concepts are often untranslatable, and require a great deal of explanation and exemplification before they are understandable to persons of other cultures. They are the extreme case of "idiomatic expressions", most of which involve simply combinations of words whose over-all meaning is not evident from the total meaning of the elements of which they are composed, e.g. German *Reißaus nehmen*, literally "to take tear-out [= to scram, take it on the lam]", or French *être en train de faire quelque chose*, literally "to be in train of [i.e. to be in the act of doing something]".

We have left to the last any mention of the difficulties posed by writing-systems, because these latter are conditioned, in one way or another, by features of the structures of the languages which they represent. As long as the writing-system to be learned is alphabetical, it follows the same basic principle as ours, and the trouble involved in

grasping it is relatively minor. The orthographies of many modern European languages (e.g. Italian, Spanish, German, Hungarian, Finnish) are more consistent than that of English; this very consistency, curiously enough, acts as a stumbling-block for many who have been trained to expect spelling to be irregular. English is one of the few languages for whose representation the Roman alphabet is used without any diacritical marks (i.e. marks over, underneath, or next to letters). For the Romance languages, the four most common diacritical marks are the acute accent ´ , the grave accent ` , the circumflex ^ , and the cedilla ¸ ; the first three of these are normally used over vowel-letters, and the cedilla under the letter *c*: ç. It is a good idea for all language-learners to know these four diacritics and their names, since they are continually recurring in other orthographies and in phonetic and phonemic transcriptions. Other diacritical marks are also found in the conventional spelling of numerous languages, e.g. the diaeresis ("umlaut-mark"), used in spelling German, as in *König* "king" or *Hüte* "hats", and also in the orthography of Swedish, Hungarian, Turkish, and other languages; and the haček ˇ , used mostly over such consonant-letters as *c*, *r*, and *s* to indicate palatalization (pronunciation with the tongue raised against the palate), as in such Czech words as *čert* "devil", *uhlíř* "coal-miner", or *naš* "our".

Matters become more complicated, but only slightly more so, when there are new letter-shapes to be learned. In the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), there are a number of such letters, each with a very carefully defined sound to which it refers, such as ɛ (for the vowel-sound of English *bet*), ə (for that of *the* when it is not stressed), and ŋ (for the single consonant-sound which is usually written *ng* in English, as in *sing*). The Greek alphabet and the Russian contain many symbols which are similar to ours, but many others which are different and simply have to be learned as such, e.g. Greek φ = *ph* or θ = *th*, or Russian ш = *sh* and щ = *shch*, as in школа *shkola* "school" or Хрущёв *Khrushchev*. Still reflecting the sounds of speech, but representing entire syllables rather than individual phonemes,

is *syllabic* writing, as found in many scripts of ancient and modern Oriental languages.

A radically different way of representing language is in the *morphemic* writing of Chinese characters; here, each character symbolizes, not any features of sound, but a unit of form or *morpheme* of the language. There is a widespread misconception to the effect that Chinese writing stands directly for the meanings of words or for "ideas", and so Chinese characters are often termed *ideographs;* but this notion is inaccurate. The only instances of morphemic writing we have in English are abbreviations such as *lb.* for "pound" or the ampersand & for "and". Since each language has only a relatively small number of phonemes (cf. below, Chapter 5) but many thousands of morphemes, there are of course far more characters in the Chinese writing-system than there are letters in any alphabet. Hence the job of learning to read and write in Chinese characters is far greater, for both native speakers and foreign learners, than is the corresponding task of achieving literacy in a language written alphabetically or syllabically.

Having surveyed briefly the types of difficulties that can face the learner of a new language, let us now look at the ways in which he can set about the task of learning, and then at the major characteristics of language as a human behavior-system, on which our evaluation of the various approaches to language-learning must be based.

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Linguistic structure in general: Bloomfield; Carroll; Gleason; Hall, 1964a; Hockett; Sapir; Sturtevant, 1947. Each of these works has chapters treating the various divisions and levels of linguistic structure.

Chapter 4. Ways of Learning a Language

The most natural way for any-one who wishes to learn a new language is for him to get into contact with a person

who knows that language (preferably, one who has known and spoken it since childhood), to put in as much time as possible on working both with the person who is serving as model and on one's own, and to learn the language by imitation and reproduction of the sounds, forms, and meanings that the model uses. Especially at the beginning of this work, the types of difficulties which we have just discussed in Chapter 3 are sure to arise; but if the learner has a high enough motivation and puts in enough time and energy on the work, he or she eventually over-comes at least the major difficulties. How far the learner goes in eliminating minor inaccuracies seems to depend on individual characteristics, particularly on ability to perceive small discrepancies and on willingness to accept correction. By and large, children are more adaptable than adults in this respect, and (at least in our culture) females have less inhibitions with regard to linguistic adaptability than males.

The ideal, in learning a new language, is "total immersion" in the situation in which it is used, so that the learner hears nothing but the target-language and speaks no other language (coming eventually to speak it to himself as well as to everybody else) all day long. This ideal is reached in "primitive" cultures when a person of one tribe goes to live permanently in another tribe, e.g. having married into a family of different language. In our modern society, permanent residence results primarily from emigration (for economic, political, or marital reasons); most of us have to content ourselves with, at best, a relatively short time—a few months or a year—spent in the country whose language we are learning. Failing this possibility, the next best thing is the use of one's imagination, aided by reading, movies, records, and the like (cf. Chapters 17, 18), to supplement organized academic work in the class-room.

Learning a foreign language by "total immersion" has certain features in common with a child's procedure in acquiring his native tongue, especially hearing and imitating "by ear" without any formal instruction, and the inevitable trial and error process that results. In literate and sophisticated cultures like ours, it works best with children up to the age of eight or ten; as is well known, before that age,

children have much less difficulty than do adults in mastering pronunciation and structure, with little or no overt analysis. (Recent experiments would seem to show that this relative ease has a physiological basis, in the structure of the brain of the growing child, as well as in the absence of socially conditioned inhibitions.) However, by the time a person is, say, twelve years old, he or she is, linguistically speaking, an adult, and—again, especially in literate cultures—can no longer learn a new language "just as a child does". Approaches which, like the "direct method" (cf. below), attempt to reproduce for adult learners the process by which a child learns his language, leave out of consideration this all-important fact.

Together with literacy, there goes a growing awareness of the use of writing to represent language; in our culture, this awareness has gone so far as to over-lay almost all recognition of the essentially oral and auditory nature of language (cf. below, Chapter 5). We are conditioned to do all our thinking and talking about language in terms of the way it is written. This emphasis on writing joins hands with the medieval schools' approach to the learning of Latin, in what has come to be, over the last thousand or fifteen hundred years, our "traditional" method of language-learning *par excellence*. In medieval schools, Latin was indeed spoken, to an extent which has survived nowadays only in certain Roman Catholic seminaries; but it was taught to beginners by brute memorization of paradigmatic sets of forms, thus:

amō "I love"	*amāmus* "we love"
amās "thou lovest"	*amātis* "ye love"
amat "he loves"	*amant* "they love"

and by memorizing and spouting rules, such as "Verbs compounded with the prepositions *ad, ante, con-, in, inter, ob, post, prae, sub,* and *super* govern the dative". Since Latin was thought to be the only language that had a grammar—unlike the speech of the common people, which even such a great medieval thinker on language as Dante said was learned "at one's mother's breast, without any rules" —the term *grammar* came to be identified with Latin and

its rules. The "grammar-method", developed in the Middle Ages for teaching Latin by rote, is still widely applied in the teaching of "dead" languages.

When modern foreign languages came to be regularly studied, from the sixteenth century onwards, it was natural to apply to them the same type of "grammar" that had been used in schools for many centuries. Since Latin enjoyed an almost exclusive prestige, the defenders of the modern languages found that, in order to get a hearing at all, they had to cast their descriptions and rules in the mold of Latin. On occasion, this procedure gave unfortunate results, as in the often cited declension of English nouns in the totally unsuited form of Latin paradigms:

Case	Form
nominative	*the table*
genitive (possessive)	*of the table, the table's*
dative	*to the table*
accusative	*the table*
ablative	*from the table*
vocative	*O table!*

Such a declension might be helpful to the school-boy who was going to learn Latin, but tells nothing concerning the structure of the English noun.

Could any-one learn a language by the "grammar-method"? Yes, and many hundreds of thousands did, but with tremendous waste of time and effort. Some people—myself included—find that memorizing rules and paradigms does not keep them from acquiring fluency in the target-language. Many others (probably a majority) find that rote memorization of statements about a language helps them not at all, and in fact often acts as a block when it comes to actually listening, talking, or developing any real speed in reading.

Protests against the "grammar" approach were frequent all during the nineteenth century, but were not very effective until the coming of the "direct method". This was developed in the 1860's by a Frenchman, a certain M. Gouin. After trying unsuccessfully to learn German by learning grammar-rules and memorizing the dictionary,

M. Gouin observed how children learn their native language without formal study, through continual repetition and direct association of words and grammatical forms with real-life meaning and activity. M. Gouin concluded that an adult should learn a foreign language "as a child learns his native tongue", and developed a series of techniques for this purpose which, taken together, are known as the *direct method*. They include exclusive use of the target-language, continual repetition of complete utterances in a real-life situation (in the class-room or out), and abandonment of all formal grammar-instruction. For the last hundred years, most discussions of language-methods have unfortunately tended to be polarized around the opposition of these two extremes, "grammar" and "direct method". Commercial language-schools have, in general, based their procedures on the direct method, with occasional concessions to a rather old-fashioned type of grammar.

One of the major developments of the late nineteenth century was the investigation of the sounds of speech, in the science of *phonetics*. The main directions of phonetic research involve study of the parts of the body with which we produce speech-sounds (*physiological* phonetics) and the physical characteristics of the sounds themselves (*acoustic* phonetics). By the end of the century, physiological phonetics had become a well-developed science, with a frame-work (including an extensive terminology) for describing the sounds of any language and prescribing how to make them. The alphabet of the International Phonetic Association (IPA; cf. pp. 169–173) is, in theory, capable of representing any sound that the human vocal apparatus can produce. Around 1900, phonetics seemed to afford a sounder scientific basis than any preceding method for teaching a foreign language. The "phonetic method" emphasized intensive practice in the sounds of the target-language, use of a phonetic transcription, and a new approach to grammar based on speech rather than writing. This method enjoyed a certain vogue at the beginning of the twentieth century, and, especially in the field of French, a certain obeisance is still made in the direction of phonetics by providing IPA transcriptions (usually only for

individual words) in text-books, and by giving courses in phonetics to prospective teachers. But the method seemed to many people too rigorous, with too great an emphasis on sound as opposed to meaning, and it demanded more accuracy in pronunciation than many teachers were willing to demand of either their pupils or themselves.

After the First World War, the isolationist mood into which the United States fell was a strong deterrent to the study of anything foreign. Unsympathetic educationists and school-administrators were only too glad to use this excuse to cut the amount of time given to foreign-language-work in schools. If any time at all was allowed, it was frequently cut to two years in high-school or college. Under these conditions, it was impossible for the ordinary student to achieve anything more than an elementary ability to make some kind of sense out of a not-too-difficult text. The goals of comprehension and speaking-ability were largely abandoned, although the first proponents of the "reading-method" had advised attainment of an elementary speaking-ability as an essential foundation. Even the older "grammar" approach was kept only insofar as an elementary understanding of grammatical structure was necessary before reading could be started at all. This "reading-method" spread to most of our schools and colleges in the 1920's and '30's, and is still dominant in many parts of the country. Its insufficiencies are at the root of the inability of many of our teachers and language-learners to deal effectively with their target-language, in listening, speaking, writing, or even reading.

Since the Second World War, several factors have caused Americans to be more aware of the need for effective language-learning (cf. pp. 4–7). Even before the United States became involved in the war, the American Council of Learned Societies (A.C.L.S.) had begun a program to apply the findings of linguistics to language-teaching-problems, in the Intensive Language Program (I.L.P.). The methods developed in the I.L.P. were applied with greater or less fidelity, in the various war-time programs of the United States' armed forces, involving an oral approach, a larger number of contact-hours than had been custom-

ary, and the use of linguistic analysis in presenting the differences between the learner's language and the target-language in such a way as to make them understandable and surmountable. Journalists and other superficial observers mistakenly called this approach the "Army method", as if some group of colonels and generals sitting in the Pentagon had dreamed it up and forced it on the war-time language-programs.

During the war, the outstanding results achieved in some of these programs (in general, those where linguistic analysts were in charge) aroused much public interest, since they proved definitely that ordinary Americans could, after all, learn foreign languages quickly and effectively. The war-time programs also caused considerable insecurity among professional language-teachers, who reacted either by denying any merit to the "Army method" or by claiming, in ignorance of the contribution of linguistics, that they could have done just as well, given an equal number of contact-hours and the chance of using what they often mistermed the "direct method". There were some efforts to apply the approach of the I.L.P. in post-war language-work, but, by and large, its impact was dulled by the language-teaching-profession's inertia and vested interests in the *status quo ante bellum*.

In the 1950's and '60's, renewed impetus was given to the oral approach by the development of audio devices, particularly the tape-recorder. The availability of sound-recording and -reproducing devices in large quantity, at not too great a cost, has made it possible for any institution to install a language-laboratory in which the learner can practise the target-language by hearing and imitating the voices of native speakers. Despite some misuse of the language-laboratory (cf. Chapter 18) and resultant criticism, it is evident that no successful language-teaching can be done in the future without such aids—which, in their turn, make an audio-lingual approach essential, since the teacher can no longer rely on the old grammar- or reading-methods to present the target-language without a word of it being spoken.

Most of the methods mentioned in our brief survey are

still in use, competing for teachers' and learners' allegiance. The old-fashioned grammar-method with its paradigms and rules, requiring no ability to speak the language on the part of the teacher and imparting none to the learner, is still favored by many teachers but by very few students. The reading-method dominates most high-school language-teaching and that in many colleges. At the other extreme are the direct-method commercial schools (somewhat updated with modern audio devices), despised by the academic teachers but frequently successful in developing an ability to comprehend and speak, especially in a short time and with busy executives and others in a hurry. None of these approaches is, in itself, satisfactory. The grammar- and reading-methods neglect the primary importance of hearing and speaking in normal linguistic activity, and the direct method and its later developments do not distinguish sufficiently between a child's language-learning and that of an adult.

The only wholly satisfactory approach to the learning of a foreign language is one based on the nature of language itself and its function in the life of the individual and of society. In practical terms, this implies an extensive modernization of the "phonetic" method of the early part of this century, keeping all its good points (such as the objective analysis of language and hence its emphasis on hearing and speaking as a point of departure) and giving up its less desirable aspects (e.g. excessively detailed attention to narrow phonetic transcription). In general, however, the training which our society gives us in language-matters does not equip us to understand the reasons for such an approach, unless we are supplied with an understanding of what language is and how it functions. Our next few chapters, therefore, will be devoted to this topic, after which we shall pass to the problems involved in building new language-habits and minimizing the effect of old ones in learning the new.

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PART II • *The Nature of Language*

Chapter 5. Speaking and Writing

Human language is often defined primarily in terms of its semantic functions, e.g. as "a set of articulated sounds or letters for conveying ideas". Such traditional definitions neglect the more basic characteristics of our linguistic behavior: its fundamentally oral and auditory, habitual, and systematic nature. To give a more complete definition, we should have to say something like "Every human language is a system of oral and auditory habits, located in the brain and nervous system of human individuals, and used by the members of groups to convey more or less meaningful messages to each other." Our next five chapters will be devoted to expounding the chief reasons for the different parts of this definition, which must be thoroughly understood before we can proceed to outlining the steps necessary for acquiring new language-habits.

Our modern English-speaking culture has many misconceptions concerning language, but the greatest of all involves the relation between speech and writing. It is very widely thought that there are two kinds of language, spoken and written; and that "written language" is not only more important, but somehow more fundamental than "spoken language". Actually, the exact opposite is true. Without denying the great importance of writing (especially for our highly developed technology), we can nevertheless safely affirm that it is unjustified to speak of "written" and "spoken" language, since human language is essentially spoken and only secondarily written. What is written down is, in all normal human activities, a reflection of what is spoken, either out loud or silently, by the person who writes

or reads.[8] Our writing is based on our speech, not vice-versa; hence it is inaccurate to refer, as so many people do, to "pronouncing the letter *h* in *th*, as in *thick*", or to consider that every-day speech is in some way a "corruption" of the "purer" language manifested in written form.

We are brought to the basic conclusion that speaking is primary in human linguistic activity and writing is secondary, by several considerations: the history of writing, the extent and function of literacy in the world, and the development of language in each individual human being. It is well known that the use of writing is very recent in history, dating from no earlier than ca. 4000 B.C., in ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics. Even if one were to consider, arbitrarily, that our earliest attestations of hieroglyphics might be later than their actual development, and therefore arbitrarily push back the date of the origin of writing, it would be by no more than a thousand years or so at the most. Humans have not been using writing for more than about six or seven thousand years. But, by the reckoning normally accepted at present, the human race has been in existence at least between half-a-million and a million years; and one of the major characteristics distinguishing humans from other living creatures is the use of language. Human society could not have come into existence without the use of language, since humans have no in-born communication-system such as bees and other creatures have. It has well been said that, instead of *Homo sapiens* "man capable of wisdom", a better descriptive term for man-kind would be *Homo loquens* "man capable of speech". Humans have, by definition, been speaking for as long as they have been human; on the other hand, they have been using writing for only somewhere between a tenth and a twentieth of the time they have been speaking. The activity of speech is, obviously, correspondingly more fundamental than that of writing. It has been suggested that if, by some magic, the entire human race were to lose over-night the art of

[8] Apparently, in certain very advanced types of mathematics, what is written down goes beyond what is spoken; but advanced mathematics can hardly be said to come under the heading of normal human activity.

reading and writing, we would be set back six or seven thousand years; but, if we were suddenly rendered unable to speak, we would simply cease to be human and would have to start the entire evolution of the race over again.

Even though writing has been known for six thousand years or so, until very recently it has been a jealously guarded skill limited to a very small minority, usually consisting of priests, lawyers, or aristocrats. Literacy did not begin to be wide-spread, even in western Europe, until the nineteenth century and the spread of universal education. Reliable statistics are hard to come by; a rough estimate would be that in Charlemagne's time (ca. A.D. 800) perhaps 1 percent of the total population could read and write; by the time of the French Revolution (1789), perhaps 25 or 30 percent in the more advanced European nations, and much less elsewhere; and even now, with virtually complete literacy in countries like Denmark and Switzerland, not more than half of the world's population has any familiarity at all with reading and writing. Yet every man or woman, even though a member of an illiterate peasant society or a "primitive" tribe, is none the less human if he or she cannot read or write; what makes us human is our ability to speak and to react to speech. Nor should we believe the wide-spread folk-lore about tribes that supposedly have vocabularies of only three hundred words or whose languages are so deficient that they have to eke out their lives with gestures. No tribe has yet been discovered that did not have a language with a fully formed grammatical structure, and a vocabulary as adequate for their culture as ours is for our culture.

In this as in other matters, "ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny"—the development of each individual retraces the steps through which the whole race has passed. In language, the baby hears its parents and others speaking around it and to it even before its eyes can focus on anything at all; and its babble begins to become structured, in imitation of what it has been hearing, by the end of the first year or soon thereafter. By the age of three, the average child is speaking fluently; by five or six, it has already internalized the "blood and bone" of its linguistic structure,

with only a few loose ends (mostly analogical formations like *gooses* or *wroten*) to be tied up in the next couple of years. No reading or writing at all enters into the process of learning one's native language; even the most precocious child does not learn to read until after he has a good command of speaking, and—especially with our schools' insistence on delaying reading until the first grade—most persons do not begin to become literate until their language-habits are almost wholly formed.

Writing-systems always represent one aspect or another of speech (cf. pp. 15–17); alphabetical writing, which is the kind with which we are most likely to be concerned in our learning of foreign languages, represents the sounds of speech, in a more or less accurate fashion. No writing-system represents all the significant phenomena of spoken communication, since intonation, stress, and juncture (cf. Chapter 14) are always given only a sketchy representation in punctuation. It is therefore no mere metaphor when we speak of "reducing a language to writing"; we must remember that, by this very fact, the way a language is written is an incomplete representation of the total linguistic reality.

It is commonly thought that we can read and write in complete silence, without any speech taking place. True, many people learn to suppress the movements of their organs of speech when they read, so that no sound comes forth; but nevertheless, inside the brain, the impulses for speech are still being sent forth through the nerves, and only the actualization of these impulses is being inhibited on the muscular level, as has been shown by numerous experiments. No act of reading takes place without a certain amount of subvocalization, as this kind of "silent speech" is called, and we normally subvocalize when we write, also. Many slow readers retain the habit of reading out loud, or at least partially moving their lips as they read; fast readers learn to skip from one key point to another, and to guess at what must lie in between. The good rapid reader knows the subject-matter well enough to guess intelligently; the poor reader does not know how to choose the high spots or guess what lies between them. As the rate of reading

increases, the actual muscular movements of pronunciation are reduced; but, just as soon as the going gets difficult, the rate of reading slows down and the muscular movements of pronunciation increase again, even with skilled rapid readers.

From these considerations, it is evident that the activities of speaking and reading cannot be separated, especially in learning a foreign language. The activity of reading is not independent from speech, but is based on it; we must therefore begin by learning to speak, and then build up our ability to read on our knowledge of the language as it is spoken. In no other way can we build up in ourselves a "feel" for the aesthetic value of the language which is in any way comparable to that which its native speakers have. This is especially important if we wish to study literature, since the effect of literary works (especially of poetry) is largely dependent on those aspects of speech (intonation, stress, juncture) which are incompletely represented in writing. Curiously enough, literary scholars are especially under the delusion that it is possible to study "written language" in isolation, without regard to the language as it is spoken; this is because they do not realize the extent to which, as we have just pointed out, all reading and writing necessarily involve an act of speech on the part of both writer and reader.

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"Silent" reading: Edfeldt.

Child language: Hall, 1964a, Chapter 46; Hockett, Chapter 41; Jespersen, Chapters 9, 10.

Chapter 6. Speech-Habits

When we speak or write, we usually think of ourselves as saying what we want to, and as not being constrained by anything except the extent of our knowledge and the rules of polite behavior. If we want to, we can talk about

anything from our children's progress in school to international politics or the philosophy of knowledge. In the same way, if we feel like it, we can walk or drive downtown or can take a train, bus, or aeroplane across the continent, without being limited by anything except our financial ability and social commitments (including, of course, our jobs and other responsibilities).

Yet in doing any of these things, we are much less free than we usually think of ourselves as being. Taking even a single step—to say nothing of walking a block or a mile—requires us to coördinate many muscles in torso, legs, and feet. Each one of us has learned in early childhood, by trial and error (and often with pain and howls, when we fell down), how to effect this coördination. By the time a child is five or six, it has learned not only to walk, but also to run, jump, and often perform other types of locomotion such as swimming. Walking then comes to be almost wholly a matter of habit, something we do without thinking. It is, of course, fortunate that habit takes over, at an early stage, in walking and most of our other activities; think how inconvenient it would be if we had to stop, analyze, and plan our action before every muscular movement required for taking a step. (It would not only be inconvenient, it would render us completely immobile!) Habit is not, as is often thought, something negative, objectionable, or deserving of condemnation as the source of laziness. On the contrary, it is only habit which enables us to perform many essential but repetitious acts without paying attention to them, and hence frees our attention for less predictable and hence more significant actions.

Similarly with language: the rôle of habit is far greater than we usually suspect. One functionally necessary but misleading effect of habit is that we tend to discount its contribution to our lives. This is true largely because we acquire such habits as those of walking and talking at so early an age that we have, in later years, virtually no memory of the process. Consequently, we are normally unable to describe the actual processes involved in our habits (how many of us can name the specific muscles involved in ordinary walking?) and are at a loss even for a frame-

work within which to discuss them. In language, matters are made worse by the fact that we do not normally start to talk about it until we reach school and become literate, long after we have learned to talk and have forgotten the learning-process. The only basis our schooling affords for discussing linguistic matters is the totally inadequate one of our conventional spelling, with the twenty-six letters of the Roman alphabet, and the Latinizing type of grammar discussed on pp. 19–20.

Habit extends throughout the entire range of our linguistic activities. When we speak, the respiratory tract, from the diaphragm up through the lungs, the trachea, the larynx, the pharynx, and the mouth and nose, is involved; and the pronunciation of each single sound is achieved by a combination of three, four, or more organs of speech working together in minutely harmonious coördination. Thus, when we pronounce the first sound in *father*, the upper teeth are held against the lower lip, the breath is forced out between teeth and lip over the entire area of contact, and the vocal cords in the larynx are not vibrating. For the very next sound, we pass to a completely different set of positions for the vocal organs, with the top of the tongue low in the mouth, the teeth and lips apart, and the vocal cords vibrating. The next (usually spelled *th*) is like the first, except that the breath is forced out over the tip of the tongue as it is protruded out between the upper front teeth, and the vocal cords are still vibrating. As opposed to sounds like those represented by *m*, *n*, and *ng*, the stream of breath is kept out of the nose by the uvula (the flap of flesh which hangs down at the back of the mouth) being raised against the back wall of the pharynx.

Our vocal organs assume all these positions, and many others involved in the production of other sounds, and they move from one position to another, without our being aware of the details of the processes. The naïve speaker is aware of the sounds of language only when something goes wrong, either in gross over-all malfunctioning such as we find in cases of hare-lip or cleft palate, or in minute faulty adjustments like those which produce the effects of a foreign accent—e.g. some-one who does not have in

his native language the habit of forcing the breath out between the tip of the tongue and the upper front teeth as we do in the English sound spelled *th*, and who replaces it by one of those spelled *t*, *f*, or *s*.

Habit is just as operative on other levels of linguistic structure as on that of sound-production. Every time we put a past-tense suffix on a verb (as in *worked*, *organized*, or *tried*), or put *the* in front of a noun, or use the order SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT in a sentence (*He saw me*), we do so as a result of deeply ingrained habits which are trained into us in early childhood. The same is true of the meanings of words, either those which are almost wholly objective (*chair*, *table*, *house*) or those with emotional connotations (*love*, *religion*, *capitalism*). With meaningful words and their combinations, our reactions are much closer to the surface of awareness than they are with sounds. Even here, however, our normal use of linguistic forms and their meanings is made the object of conscious analysis only when we meet with something that is unfamiliar (say, a new word like a *blip* on a radar-screen, or a *scuba*-diver) or that we dislike (thus, for instance, I have a strongly hostile reaction to *presently* in the sense of "currently, at present").

It is necessary for us to realize the great rôle that habit plays in our language-behavior, and the relatively small share that conscious analysis or reason has in it, so that we may understand the type of work that has to be done in learning a new language. There are, roughly speaking, three kinds of subject-matter that one learns, either in school or out: content, attitudes, and habits. In study devoted to content, we learn either facts and deductions based on facts, or procedures for finding out facts, such as the dates of history (1492, 1776, 1914–1918, etc.), the conclusions to be drawn from what we learn in history, and how to proceed in investigating history. Work in the humanities in general (literature, music, the fine arts), insofar as it is not devoted to creating new works of art, is primarily aimed at transmitting the attitudes which our culture has: which writers, composers, painters, etc., are considered great and what there is about their work that

makes it outstanding. In the humanities, attention is paid to factual content only insofar as it makes a contribution to the understanding of the work of art itself. Both of these types of study involve intellectual analysis of one kind or another; but in the formation of habits, attention must be paid to the building up of action-patterns through repeated practice, such as we accept as normal in learning to play tennis, swim, or typewrite. Intellectual analysis is relevant to habit-forming studies only insofar as it contributes to our understanding of the patterns we are learning and of the difficulties that may arise because of previous habits oriented in a different direction.

Elementary language-learning belongs definitely in the third of these categories, that of the habit-forming studies. It is not primarily an intellectual ability, although, at the intermediate and advanced stages, as we learn enough of the new language to receive and transmit information in it, we can use it as a vehicle for intellectual activity of various kind. In learning a new language, the formation of new habits comes before all other considerations; and, since the habits of the target-language are never those of the learner's language, especial attention must be paid to helping the learner to over-come his native habits and acquire the new ones. (It is in meeting these problems that linguistic analysis makes its specific contribution to the language-learning-problem.) In an elementary language-course, any intellectual content not aimed at the goal of establishing new habits is out of place, no matter how interesting or valuable it may be in itself (e.g. the literature, art, or politics of the country involved) or how useful it may be at a later stage of the learning-process.

We are often shocked at hearing language-learning discussed in these terms, and especially at the notion that habit-formation should play such a large rôle, far greater than is customarily assigned it. Such a reaction is natural when we have been brought up on the traditional approach by way of deductive, normative grammar and reading, in which almost exclusive emphasis is placed on "rational" analysis and its application. Those who learn languages successfully by traditional methods fail to realize that,

without being aware of what they are doing, they have given themselves enough practice in the target-language to build up its habits unconsciously. Not all people learn this way, however; for most of us, much more in the way of conscious, overt effort is required to build up the new habits, with as little as possible to distract us from that essential process. Our linguistic activity is like the traditional ice-berg, nine tenths of which are submerged beneath the surface of the water; and the one tenth which is above the surface gives very little clue as to the nature and extent of the rest.

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Chapter 7. System and Structure

One of the most important aspects of any language is that it constitutes a *system*. Many facets of human life are systematic, in that they follow patterns which can be analyzed, described, and predicted; but our linguistic behavior is perhaps the most highly patterned of all. This is what enables us to make detailed analytical statements about language; if this were not the case, total unpredictability would result, as in the classic example of the croquet-game at the end of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*, where the mallets are flamingos which every so often fly away, the balls are hedge-hogs which uncurl and walk off when they feel like it, and the wickets are soldiers who get up and march off to sentry-duty. A certain amount of systematicity in language has been recognized for a long time, and some of its aspects are codified in our traditional grammars; but modern linguistics has gone beyond this point, both in recognizing the extent to which every language has a system of its own and in developing techniques for describing the structure of individual linguistic systems.

When we listen or speak, the sounds of language do not occur at random, but show a close correlation with features of the world around us: *red, green, yellow* refer to certain colors, ranging between fairly well defined wave-lengths; *table, chair, book,* to certain classes of objects and *eat, drink, run,* to certain types of actions; *justice, velocity, interaction,* to certain characteristics of the behavior of people or things. The correlation which any word, group of words, or other linguistic form shows with the world around us is its *meaning*. The way in which sounds and meanings are correlated is not simple, but very complex, since several levels of organization are involved. Figure 1 shows the various levels into which linguistic analysts divide the structure of language, as usually represented in a vertical listing.

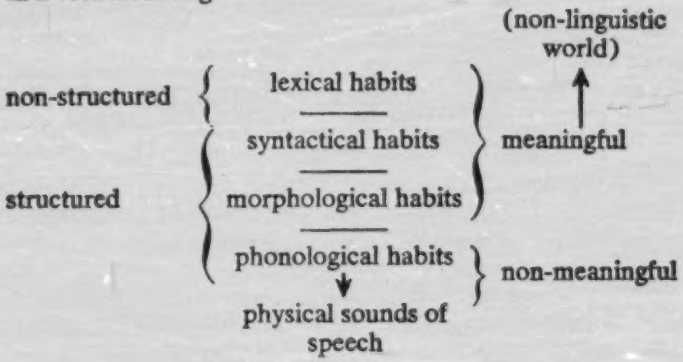

Figure 1. The Levels of Linguistic Structure

The sounds of speech are usually placed on the lowest level; they constitute the raw material, out of which all the rest of language is built. Speaking and hearing are of the essence of normal people's language-behavior but they do not by any means constitute its single or most important aspect. The sounds themselves are normally dealt with in the study of *phonetics,* physiological and acoustic (cf. p. 21); the way in which the speech-sounds are organized into patterns of significant units is the subject-matter of *phonemics*. This latter depends on phonetics for its raw material, but goes beyond phonetics in that it disregards

non-functional variations in sound. The classic example is the type of [p]-sound[7] that we have in English. Especially after [s], this sound occurs with no puff of breath or *aspiration* after it, as in [spɪn] *spin*, but, particularly before a stressed vowel and not after [s], there is a puff of breath after [p], as in [p'ɪn] *pin* (the apostrophe in the phonetic transcription marks the puff of breath). These two varieties of the [p]-sound are quite distinct, so far as their actual sound is concerned; but the difference between them never makes a difference in meaning between two words in English. On the other hand, the difference between the vowel-sound of English *sat* (which we transcribe phonetically as [sæt]) and that in *set* [sɛt] is what makes these two words different. Since the [p] of [spɪn] and the [p'] of [p'ɪn] never have a function of keeping meanings apart, we class them together and consider them as members of one functional unit or *phoneme*, which in this case we transcribe (between slant lines) as /p/. With [æ] and [ɛ], however, since (in English) they do serve to differentiate, not only *sat* and *set*, but a number of other similar pairs like *bat* and *bet*, we consider them as belonging to two separate functional units (phonemes), which we transcribe as /æ/ and /ɛ/[8] respectively.[9] The level of "phonological habits" which we have shown in Figure 1 includes both phonetics and phonemics, but it is primarily the latter which is relevant for linguistic structure.

A linguistic *form* is any sequence of phonemes which has meaning: thus, a single exclamation like *Oh!*, a prefix like *pre-*, or a suffix like *-ing*, and an entire sentence like *He said he was going home tonight.*, are all linguistic forms. A *minimum form* is one which cannot be broken down

[7]Square brackets indicate that the letters enclosed in them are part of a phonetic transcription, i.e. represent speech-sounds.

[8]What letters may be used to represent these phonemes in conventional spelling (*a* and *e*, for instance, in this case) is, at this point, irrelevant to our purposes in linguistic analysis.

[9]It must be emphasized at this point that speech-sounds which are nearly the same may not have the same phonemic function at all in different languages: [s] and [z], for instance, belong to separate phonemes in English (serving to distinguish, say, *seal* from *zeal*, *rice* from *rise*, etc.), but to one phoneme in Italian (in which they never serve to distinguish one word from another).

any further without robbing it of its meaning; thus, with the sequence of phonemes /fílɪŋ/ *feeling*, we can peel off the element /ɪŋ/ *-ing* and still have the element /fíl/ *feel* left, without changing the essential meaning of this latter. But if we take off anything further, even the single consonant /l/, what we have left is /fí/ *fee*, which means something quite different and hence is not the same form any longer. The same is true of the suffixed element /ɪŋ/ *-ing*, which cannot be broken down any more; we therefore say that /fíl/ *feel* and /ɪŋ/ *-ing* are both minimum forms. A minimum functional unit of form is known as a *morpheme*, just as similar unit of sound is called a phoneme. A further, very important distinction on the level of linguistic forms is their division into *free* and *bound* forms, i.e. those which can occur alone (e.g. *fee*, *feel* in the example above) and those which cannot (such as *-ing*) in any given language. Many, but not all, scholars use the term *word* as virtually synonymous with "free form" (e.g. *feel*, *feeling*, *feelingly*). The analysis and classification of morphemes constitutes the level of *morphology*.

Even free forms do not always occur alone, of course; combinations of free forms are dealt with under the heading of *syntax*. Thus, the differences between *feel*, *feels*, *felt*, *feeling*, and *feelingly* are morphological in their nature, whereas *I feel fine*, *He felt rotten*, and *He spoke feelingly on that topic* are longer combinations of free forms and hence belong on the syntactic level. Not only "complete" sentences, but so-called "fragmentary" utterances, as well as exclamations and the like, are syntactical phenomena, for instance *Drat it!*, *How come?*, *Too tired to go to the movies tonight?* Syntax covers the structure of *phrases* (combinations of forms which take the place of a single free form, as *the big fat men* takes the place of simply *men* in a larger combination) and *clauses* or minimal units of utterance. A meaningful combination of forms, on the syntactical level, is known as a *construction*, for instance the combination of DEFINITE ARTICLE + NOUN (*the boy*) or that of AUXILIARY VERB + PAST PARTICIPLE (the "perfect phrase", e.g. *has gone*) in English. Constructions have meanings of their own, independent of the dictionary-

meanings of the words that make them up: thus, the English perfect phrase just mentioned refers to action in the past lasting up to or including the present time.

Individual words usually have what is called "dictionary-meaning", i.e. they are correlated directly with features of the non-linguistic world which can be given as their meaning in, say, a dictionary—for instance, *book* "a number of sheets of paper bound together", or *run* "move the legs quickly so as to go faster than in walking". The elements of a language—usually its "words"—which have dictionary-meaning make up its *lexicon*. Lexical elements can be grouped together, at least roughly, according to features of meaning which they have in common, so as to form "fields of meaning" (*walk, run, jump, crawl,* all referring to locomotion); but groups formed in this way, on the lexical level, do not have so highly structured a relation among their elements as do phonemes, morphemes, or syntactical combinations to each other. This is why, on the left-hand side of Figure 1, we have indicated the syntactical, morphological, and phonological levels as "structured", but the lexical level as (at least relatively) "non-structured". On the right of the figure, we have indicated that our habits on the lowest level of linguistic structure, the phonological, do not in themselves have meaning, but those on the three higher levels do; and it is through meaning, as pointed out earlier (p. 35), that linguistic phenomena are related to the non-linguistic world.

In the various new terms we have been introducing in this chapter, the suffix *-eme* occurs several times, in such words as the following:

Term	Root
phoneme "functional unit of sound"	*phon-* "sound"
morpheme "functional unit of form"	*morph-* "form"

And similarly:

Term	Root
grapheme "functional unit of writing"	*graph-* "writing"

toneme "functional unit of pitch"	*ton-* "pitch"
taxeme "functional unit of syntactic arrangement"	*tax-* "arrangement"

If we compare the list of terms with the roots given in the right-hand column, we can see that, by peeling out the suffix *-eme* from the complete terms, its meaning is "functional unit of . . .". This list by no means exhausts the total number of formations in *-eme*, but includes those which any-one concerned with language-learning should be familiar with. It is also useful to know the prefix *allo-*, which means "non-functional variant of . . .". In the example of English [p] and [p'] given on p. 36, for instance, these two sounds are non-functional variants of the phoneme /p/, and will therefore be termed *allophones* of that phoneme. We can thus set up a list of formations, on the same roots as those given above, all beginning with the prefix *allo-*:

allophone "non-functional variant of sound"
allomorph "non-functional variant of form"
allograph "non-functional variant of writing"
allotone "non-functional variant of pitch"
allotax "non-functional variant of syntactic arrangement"

We shall have occasion to use all of these terms in discussing the problems that arise in dealing with foreign linguistic structures.

When we are studying a foreign language, we inevitably treat both it and our native language as if they were constant, unchanging throughout time. We have to do so because of the necessity of having a clear description of both; but, in fact, all language is forever and inevitably changing, slowly but surely. Old sounds, forms, constructions, words are going out of use, and new ones are coming in, whether conservative speakers like the way things are going or not. In any society, at any given time, some linguistic phenomena are obsolete or obsolescent, and others are recent innovations; the foreigner needs to know at least approximately what connotations of this type at-

tach to the forms he is learning. To this extent, therefore, it is well to take historical considerations into account when learning a foreign language. However, extended disquisitions on the ultimate origin of a form or construction—telling, for example, how French *eau* /o/ "water" goes back to Latin *aqua*, or how German *ritzen* "to scratch" is related to English *write*—are beside the point at the elementary stages of language-learning, since they convey nothing that is of any real assistance to the learner, and only distract attention from the real task in hand, the process of acquiring the new language.

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Chapter 8. Meaning

If language did not serve to convey meaning, it would not be fulfilling its basic function, which is to weld human communities together and enable people to coöperate with each other. It would simply be an empty sequence of noises, with no more function than are those which parrots and similar birds make when they imitate human speech. However, we generally take meaning more or less for granted. Linguistic forms can be easily isolated, analyzed, and written down; but their meaning seems to be something considerably more elusive, as can be seen whenever we discuss that of even some common every-day term like *window, chair,* or *table* (what is the border-line between a *window* and an *air-vent,* e.g. in a prison?). Hence we often tend to think of meaning as something vague, abstract, hovering (as it were) over and outside of the speakers or existing in an abstract world of thought, and coming down to embody itself in the physical entities or words which we utter in speech. This view of meaning is seemingly supported by the experience, which we have all had, of "know-

ing what we mean but not being able to put it into words" —from which we conclude that meaning must be something over, above, and beyond words.

It is, however, possible to define meaning, if not as sharply as the levels of linguistic form discussed in the preceding chapter, at least with enough clarity and objectivity to relate it to both the facts of language and those of the non-linguistic world. Essentially, the meaning of any linguistic form or construction is the real-life situation in respect to which it is used. We must say "in respect to which", rather than "in which", because we often use linguistic forms to convey meanings even when the phenomena referred to are not present to either the speaker or the hearer. I can speak of "my cat", "a piece of steak", or anything else I want to, and my hearers can understand what I am talking about, whether the object referred to is present or not. Speech used in this way, outside of the physical context of what is referred to, is called *displaced* speech. It is the displaceability of human speech that makes it such a tremendously effective instrument in communication, since we can send messages from one speaker to another (with or without the use of writing) and we can order and receive objects (say, books or laboratory-equipment) or make arrangements for future activities (e.g. travel, visits) even half-way around the earth.

Our analysis of language must start with linguistic form, since form is much more nearly constant, more easily identifiable, and more predictable than meaning. If we define the meaning of a linguistic phenomenon as involving all the situations in respect to which it is used, these situations necessarily include, not only everything relevant in the outside world, but also all the intellectual and emotional reactions of the speaker and hearer, each time the form is used. Obviously, it is virtually impossible (at least in the present state of human knowledge) to discover all these aspects of meaning. In our practical dealings with meaning, we normally separate those features of the situation that can be described objectively (their "dictionary-meaning" or *denotation*) and consider them as fundamental. The other, more personal, individual over-tones of mean-

ing are called *connotations*, and, in general, are left out of dictionaries or linguistic descriptions. They are, nevertheless, very real factors in total meaning, and especially in the relations between people of different cultures. For instance, such an apparently simple word as *compromise* "settling an argument by each side giving up some of what it wants" has favorable connotations in British English, but unfavorable in American English. Failure to recognize this difference in emotional orientation and hence in connotation may lead to bad misunderstanding and break-down of communication.

Every time we attach a meaning to a word or construction, it reflects our experience of the universe in which we live. If a person has had no experience of something, we say that he or she does not "know what it means" (e.g. to have a loved one die, to fail an examination, or to make a successful proposal of marriage). This applies, not only to the objective happening (which is often relatively easy to understand, intellectually), but also to our emotional reactions and our social adjustment. But, since languages and cultures differ from each other, we inevitably find differences in meaning on passing from one language to another. Each language divides experience differently from those who speak it, even (and especially) for what we might expect to be simple and hence universal, self-evident words and meanings. Most West European languages have verbs corresponding roughly to English *have* in the meaning of "possess": *I have a book*, French *J'ai un livre*, German *Ich habe ein Buch*. But we need go no farther than Hungarian and Russian to find that not all languages have a verb with this meaning: in Hungarian, for *I have a book*, one must say *Van könyvem*, literally "There-is [a] book-of-mine", and in Russian, one must say У меня есть книга /u mʲiná jést kʲníga/ "To me there-is [a] book". By the time we come to a really "exotic" language like Japanese or Chinese, the segmentation of meaning is entirely different from what we are accustomed to in our West European languages.

Nevertheless, despite these difficulties, it has been possible to make considerable progress in the study of mean-

ing (*semantics*), and to isolate, at least approximately, units of meaning (*sememes*) which are correlated with linguistic forms. One of the central facts of semantics is that forms often have more than one meaning, i.e. are used in more than one situation. English *duck*, as a noun, means "a certain kind of bird of the family Anatidae", and also "fellow, chap" (*He's a queer old duck*) and, in some instances, "likable person" (*You're a duck!*). Our word *ear* means "the organ of hearing", but also "attention" (*Give ear!*) and "an ear of grain". It is customary to distinguish between the *central* meaning of a form, that which its users consider fundamental (basic, constant), and one or more *marginal* meanings (less fundamental or basic, or "transferred" from the central meaning). In the case of *duck*, every speaker of English would agree that "a kind of bird" is the central meaning, and the others given above are marginal. With *ear*, "attention" is obviously marginal to "organ of hearing", but in the sense "an ear of grain", we may perhaps wonder whether we are dealing with the same word or with two different words that have the same sound and different meanings (*homonyms*). Here again, what seems normal to speakers of one language will not necessarily seem so to those of another: in English, for instance, it is quite natural for us to speak, in a transferred sense, of the *leg* of a table, but no speaker of Russian would ever use нога /nogá/ "leg [of the body]" with reference to a table.

The users of a language, at any given time, are often inclined to think that there must be a "real", "right", permanently valid meaning attaching to each word or construction, and that any departure from this meaning must of necessity be wrong. However, meanings change over time, and no-one can say at what point of time the "right" or "best" meaning is fixed, after which no change might be allowed. Thus, our English word *nice* earlier meant "delicate", but in Middle English (around Chaucer's time, in the fourteenth century) it meant "foolish", being a borrowing from Old French *nice* (of the same meaning), which in its turn went back to Latin *nēscius* "ignorant". Furthermore, we find that meanings vary in different parts

of a language's territory: in Spain, the word *roble* means "oak [a tree belonging to the genus Quercus]", but in Latin America it is applied to various other trees belonging to quite different genera. No-one can say that either use of *roble* is definitely right or wrong; the Spanish use is right in Spain, and the American use is right for Latin America. Whenever we meet with differences of this type, we must be prepared to recognize that there is no absolute right or wrong in such matters.

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Nature of meaning: Bloomfield, Chapter 9; Hall, 1964a, Chapter 39; Hockett, Chapter 16.

Chapter 9. Language and Society

Language has both an individual and a social character. It exists only in the habits of each individual speaker, both in his actual speech and in whatever there is in his brain (nothing is known in detail, as yet, of the actual processes that go on in the brain in connection with language-behavior) that determine his speaking and his understanding of what he hears. By the age of about five or six, the individual has built up the essential features of his linguistic system, and by twelve or thirteen, he has a fully developed and functioning set of speech-habits which, from then on, do not change very much; he is a linguistic adult. Each person's total set of language-habits is his *idiolect;* it is never exactly the same as any other person's idiolect, and is as peculiar to each individual as his fingerprints. Not that the individual "creates" his idiolect out of his own inner consciousness; far from it. On the contrary, each of us builds his own idiolect, primarily during childhood, through imitation of other idiolects which he hears spoken around him. Usually, we imitate those with whom we come in closest contact (parents, play-mates, relatives) or whom we admire, and we imitate less closely those with whom we have less contact. Even what little

we may have that is original in our idiolects is normally not our own "creation", but is put together out of already familiar material, as when some-one coins *wibble* out of a combination of *wiggle* and *wobble*.

On the other hand, in any given speech-community, the individuals that comprise it have idiolects that are very similar to each other. This, of course, is how human beings can communicate with one another, since the idiolects of the members of a speech-community are (although not identical) so closely similar in structure and in meaning that they convey the "same" messages. There are always strong enough forces, in any community, making for cohesion to offset any tendencies that might exist towards strong differentiation from which total incomprehensibility might result. If I choose to invent a new word and meaning (say, *google* "objectionable European refugee"), I stand little or no chance of using it successfully just on my own initiative; if it is to become part of the community's usage, it must be accepted and taken up by other members of the group. Language is therefore not only an individual, but also a social, phenomenon, insofar as it serves primarily to cement groups of humans together and permit them to coöperate and achieve far more than would be possible otherwise. However, no language-phenomenon has any objective existence outside of the usage of some specific individual; all "dialects" and "languages" are simply abstractions constructed by comparing two or more idiolects.

Some idiolects are more alike than others. This means that, in any speech-community of a certain size, there probably exist two or more subgroups set off by the similarity of their speech. Linguistic analysts normally refer to such a difference as one of dialect.[10] Dialectal divisions in a community as large as the English-, French-, or German-speaking world are quite complicated, and reflect the

[10]The term *dialect* has a number of different meanings, including "any kind of speech which the user of the term does not like", and "foreign accent". Linguistic analysts prefer to restrict their use of this term to the objective meaning "any variety of a language", without any unfavorable connotation.

extensive inter-play of social contacts and of prestige-groups. The best-known line of dialectal division in language is that between *standard* and *non-standard:* the standard variety is that used by socially acceptable people, whereas non-standard includes all other kinds of usage (especially urban lower-class and rustic). Intersecting with this line is the difference in functional level, between *formal* (the kind of language used only in very "correct" and elegant situations) and *informal* (used in ordinary every-day living). Combining these two types of division, we get a four-way contrast between:

1. Formal standard: e.g. *It is I; I have none; He departed.*
2. Informal standard: e.g. *It's me; I haven't any; He went away; between you and me.*
3. Informal non-standard: e.g. *I ain't got none; He beat it, He took it on the lam; You and me better go home.*
4. Formal non-standard: a variety which arises when those whose normal speech is informal non-standard try to speak formally, and create forms or combinations which no standard speaker would ever use on any level: e.g. *between you and I.*

Virtually all large modern speech-communities have extensive beliefs concerning what is "correct" and "incorrect"; and we must take their notions into account when studying the language of any group of speakers. However, these beliefs, although often very wide-spread, are usually quite at variance with the actual facts in any given case; this is particularly true with the languages of West European prestige-cultures (English, French, German, Italian, Spanish). This is why we need a frame-work like that just given, so as to have an objective basis on which to judge doctrines of "correctness". For instance, one normal answer to *Merci* "Thank you" in French is (in its full formal standard form) *Il n'y a pas de quoi* /ilnjapɑdəkwa/ "There is nothing for which [to thank me]", roughly equivalent in social function and status to our *Don't mention it.* In ordinary every-day speech, however, all people, of

whatever social class, customarily say /japatkwa/, which is usually (and somewhat misleadingly) written as *"'Y a pas d'quoi"*. This latter way of responding is, in actuality, on the level of informal standard usage; however, basing themselves on the way it is written, some purists will call it "incorrect" and will condemn any text-book which is bold enough to give it as the true normal way of speaking.

What makes forms "correct" or "incorrect" is not, in short, a matter of legal or quasi-legal authority, or of comprehensibility; it is wholly a matter of social acceptability, in the usage of certain classes of our society which are dominant and which set the tone for others. In some countries (such as France and Spain) there are academies which were set up with the aim of "regulating" the language, and many people in those countries are brought up to believe that such an aim is justified and practicable. In fact, however, even in France and Spain, the effect of academic pronouncements, or of the dicta of supposed "authorities" (especially grammar-books and dictionaries), on the usage of normal people is quite slight. Nor does the acceptance or rejection of a linguistic form depend on its inherent merit: *It is I* and *It's me* are of equal merit in themselves, as linguistic forms, and so are *He isn't* and *He ain't*. Acceptability depends entirely on whether the hearers of a form like it and react favorably, or dislike it and react unfavorably towards a person using it. *Correct*, as applied to language, can mean only "socially acceptable", as far as native users are concerned.

We cannot stop here, however, because, when we are learning a foreign language, we often find that its speakers have different ideals for the usage of non-native speakers, from what they expect of each other. Most non-puristic Americans have, for both themselves and foreigners, an ideal (which often stays below the level of awareness) of relaxed, free-and-easy speech and writing, in all except the most formal circumstances. In some other societies, however, upper-class speakers prefer not to hear their own every-day usage coming from the mouths of foreigners; they would rather hear a more prestigious, even if archaic, type of language, and even if with a marked foreign accent.

(This is especially true in Latin America, where there is strong emphasis on formality, and North American informality is rather strongly disesteemed.) When a foreigner tells you that "you speak better ——— [French, Spanish, Italian, etc.] than he does", it is not necessarily an empty compliment, nor yet always a back-handed way of saying "Your ——— [whatever the language may be] is so poor as to be almost incomprehensible". He may be choosing this way of telling you that you are living up to his ideal of how a foreigner should speak. Your judgment of this, as of other social aspects of language, has to depend on the culture involved in any particular situation; but no such situation should serve as an excuse for failing to attempt the closest possible approximation to native-like command of the foreign language in the long run.

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PART III • *Building New Language-Habits*

Chapter 10. Imitating and Memorizing

Since a language is, in its fundamental nature, a set of habits existing in an individual, the only way for any person to learn a new language is to build up in him- or herself a set of habits which will correspond, as closely as possible, to those of the native speakers of the target-language. For maximum effectiveness, this cannot be done haphazardly or confusedly, and the ordinary language-learner in our modern civilization has neither the time nor the energy to spare for the long process of trial and error involved in either day-to-day living and picking up the language in the country where it is spoken, or for ultra-direct-method efforts (cf. pp. 20–21) to reproduce the procedure whereby a child learns his native language. In any given language, some of its features are more fundamental than others; some are easier than others for speakers of a particular point-of-departure language; and some are more useful and necessary than others in every-day life. The choice of material to be learned, and the order in which it is learned, has to depend on a balance to be established among these various aspects of the target-language. Experienced writers of foreign-language text-books know that they must (all other things being equal) progress, in the material they present, from what is more essential to what is less essential; from the easier to the more difficult; and from the immediately useful to the elegant or prestigious. They also know that it is wise to break down the target-language, as a whole, into a number of successive stages, each to be presented in a single group of lessons or *unit*, containing various types of materials and exercises designed to make the learner proficient before he proceeds to the next stage.

In each unit, the work to be done has to reflect the four main stages involved in the process of learning any given linguistic phenomenon. First of all, a certain amount of material must be internalized as effectively as possible, through imitation and memorization. There is no substitute for this initial stage, since all of the subsequent stages of the work depend on the learner having a thorough knowledge of what is involved, as a basis on which to build farther. The next stage, for the adult (and we must remember that, as pointed out on p. 19, linguistic adulthood begins at around the age of ten or twelve), is the analysis of the patterns of the target-language. After analytical awareness has been achieved, intensive practice is necessary; and after the new patterns have been practised to the point where they come readily, the learner must be trained in using them in the basic form of linguistic activity, improvisation. This and the following three chapters will treat in detail these four types of activity, and the way that text-material (new or already existing) can be organized to meet these needs.

The material to be learned should be presented in the form of *basic sentences*. We shall give a few examples of typical groups of sentences, and then discuss the reasons why they are cast in this particular form.

German (from Rehder and Twaddell, Unit 8):

[In der Wohnung bei Frau Reiff. Die Klingel läutet. Frau Reiff geht an die Haustür und sieht nach.]	[In Mrs. Reiff's apartment. The doorbell rings. Mrs. Reiff goes to the door and looks after it.]
Frau Reiff:	Mrs. Reiff:
1. Guten Morgen, Frau Limberger.	Good morning, Mrs. Limberger.
2. Es ist aber nett, daß Sie kommen.	It's very nice of you to come.
Frau Limberger:	Mrs. Limberger:
3. Ja, ich kann aber nur einen Augenblick bleiben.	Yes, but I can only stay a moment.
4. Ich muß gleich in die Stadt an den Bahnhof.	I have to go downtown right away, to the station.
Frau Reiff:	Mrs. Reiff:
5. Wollen Sie jemand abholen?	Are you going to meet someone?

Frau Limberger:	Mrs. Limberger:
6. Das nicht; ich muß meinen Mann an die Bahn bringen.	Not that; I have to take my husband to the train.
7. Er muß heute noch nach Basel fahren.	He has to get to Basel today.
Frau Reiff:	Mrs. Reiff:
8. Wann fährt denn der Zug ab?	When does the train leave?
Frau Limberger:	Mrs. Limberger:
9. Um zehn Uhr dreißig.	At ten thirty.

Spanish (from Agard, Unit 14):

Charles:	
Pero Alfonso, ¡qué mala cara traes!	Why Alfonso, what a long face you've got!
¿Qué te ha pasado?	What's happened to you?
Alfonso:	
Ay, ¡qué día ha sido éste!	Oh, what a day this has been!
Esta mañana se me cayeron mis gafas y se me rompieron.	This morning I dropped my glasses and broke them.
Esta tarde se me perdió la cartera.	This afternoon I lost my wallet.
Charles:	
la plata	the (= your) money
Y se te acabó la plata, naturalmente.	And that was the end of your money, naturally.
Alfonso:	
Claro. Y esta noche se me olvidó una cita que tenía con mi novia.	Of course. And tonight I forgot a date I had with my girl.
Charles:	
¿Así es que salió con otro?	So she went out with somebody else?
Alfonso:	
¡Ah, no! Eso nunca se hace aquí en España.	Oh no! That's never done here in Spain.

Italian (from Hall, 1959, Unit 24):

[During an intermission at the Rome Opera, where Ruth, Bill, Pete and Jean are occupying a box.]

Ruth:	
il clavicémbalo	the harpsichord
ideare	to create (intellectually)
la fòrma	the form
la sonata	the sonata
26. In quell'epoca ci furono i grandi maestri del clavicémbalo, come per esempio Doménico Scarlatti, che ideò la fòrma della sonata.	In that period there were the great masters of the harpsichord, such as Domenico Scarlatti, who created the sonata form.

Bill:	
27. E+ Paganini?	And Paganini?
Ruth:	
28. Oh, lùi non èra altro che il Louis Armstrong del violino.	Oh, he was only the Louis Armstrong of the violin.
Pete:	
29. Tanto mèglio per lùi.	So much the better for him.
Ruth:	
30. Io dirèi, tanto pèggio.	I'd say, so much the worse.
Jean:	
sméttere il battibècco	to stop the squabble
31. Smettétela, ragazzi, con questi battibecchi!	Stop it, kids, with these squabbles!
mantenere puro intellettuale	to maintain pure intellectual
32. Manteniamo la discussione su+ di un livello puramente intellettuale.	Let's keep the discussion on a purely intellectual level.

In the case of languages whose pronunciation is markedly different from what is indicated by the conventional spelling, a third column may be used, to give the actual pronunciation of the break-downs and basic sentences in a phonemic transcription, as in the following example for French (from Denoeu and Hall, Unit 11):

ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS	FRENCH SPELLING	TRANSCRIPTION
a moth	une mite	yn-mit
to lead	mener	məne
terrible	terrible	teribl
Moths lead terrible lives, don't they?	Les mites mènent une vie terrible, n'est-ce pas?	le-mit mεn-yn-vi-terible, n-ε-s-pɑ?

First of all, it must be noticed that, in all four of these selections, the material to be learned is presented in the form of sentences, and (usually, though not always) in conversational situations. This is because humans normally talk in complete sentences, not in isolated words, and our basic use of language is to converse with each other. Formal expository prose is not our customary way of communicating, but some of the basic sentences can, especially at a more advanced stage, be cast in the form of solid paragraphs, setting forth some specific topic and serving to in-

troduce the learner to prose style. Nor is poetry expressly to be avoided, by any means. Folk-songs and simple poems can be used from the very beginning, and more advanced literary creations can be introduced at the intermediate level; for instance, the final learning unit of Hall, 1959, contains a sonnet by Dante and a carnival-song by Lorenzo de' Medici.

The situations represented are those of ordinary, every-day life, such as friends meeting and talking, persons entering stores and purchasing things, others going to beaches or sight-seeing or attending performances of various kinds, all the way up to gatherings in salons for literary discussions. A well constructed series of units will show some kind of semantic progression, from those situations of immediate concern to the individual (beginning with a kind of "linguistic first aid" in the shape of immediately useful words and phrases), to ever widening concerns: taking care of personal needs (lodgings, meals, sight-seeing, etc.), practical contact with the environment (amusements, banks, hospitals, and the like), and more general cultural matters (university life, history, art, music, literature). Many superficial observers, opening text-books of this kind towards the beginning and seeing conversations that deal with "merely practical affairs", have come to the erroneous conclusion that the oral approach permits of nothing but "barber-shop talk". Such a notion is, of course, quite unjustified, since—even if the conversations themselves are in free-and-easy tone, as normal people's talk usually is—the subject-matter does not have to be restricted to non-intellectual matters in any way. Yet even the most prestigious intellectual discussion, even the most elegant social conversation, has its linguistic roots squarely in ordinary every-day speech; the latter is, therefore, the kind of language which the learner should acquire first, so as to have a better basis on which eventually to build up the former.

The scene of the dialogues is usually placed in the country whose language is being learned. This procedure is, of course, not peculiar to oral-approach texts; most others do like-wise. However, a conversation, whether it is imag-

ined as being between natives of the country, between a native and a foreigner, or even (as in the Italian example) between several foreigners, can reflect the cultural background most effectively. In the more elementary dialogues, every-day speech-patterns can be included, and such apparently insignificant but actually very meaningful details as the use of emphatic particles (e.g. the German *Flickwörter*—words that bind the discourse together, like *aber* "but" and *denn* "then"). At a slightly more advanced level, a dialogue can show the reactions of members of one culture to the behavior-patterns of another, as in the conversation between Alfonso and Charles (p. 51): the latter expects that the former's girl-friend might have gone out with some-one else (as might well be the case in North America), but that kind of thing would not happen in Spain. This kind of conversation is also the best means of presenting the difference in meaning between "false friends"—words which are similar in form (pronunciation or spelling or both) but which mean quite different and often confusing things, e.g. Italian *drogheria* "delicatessen" ≠ English *drug-store*, or Russian фамилия /famílija/ "family-name", not "family". The characters presented in the dialogues may be of any age, social level, or intellectual achievement; the wider the range of characters, the better over-all picture the learner can get of the people whose language he is learning.

In each of these samples, the foreign language is accompanied by the English equivalent. For convenience' sake, we have given the first three with the foreign language on the left and the English on the right; this is the way they are given in the originals of the Spanish and the Italian, but in Rehder and Twaddell, the English is given on the odd-numbered pages and the German on the following page in each case. There is a specific reason for giving the equivalents in the learner's language, as well as the material itself which is to be learned in the target-language; the learner should be told the meaning of what he is memorizing, not forced to decipher it as a kind of puzzle. This part of the language-learning-process is not an intellectual exercise, but simply a matter of getting the sentences,

together with their meaning, firmly fixed in his memory as soon as possible. Translation is an excellent exercise, but not at the beginning stages; it should be kept for later, more advanced work (cf. Chapter 17), when the learner knows enough of the target-language to appreciate the fine points that have to be covered in careful, accurate translation-work.

Notice, also, that the English equivalent does not necessarily correspond, word for word, with the material in the foreign language. (This is why we have been referring to the English "equivalents", rather than to the English "translations".) Thus, in the German example on p. 51, sentence 6 has *Ich muß meinen Mann an die Bahn bringen,* literally "I have to bring my man to the [rail-] road". However, no-one would normally say that in English, in this situation: *meinen Mann* means here "my husband"; we speak of taking some-one, not "to the [rail-] road", but "to the train"; and we don't "bring" the person away from where we are, we "take" him. The English equivalents should give what one would usually say, in the particular situation involved. No-one can ever expect two languages to have exactly the same way of putting any response to a given set of conditions.

How, then, can the learner be made aware of the literal meaning of what he has been given in the target-language? Many texts give, as is done in our Spanish and Italian examples, a separate line for each new item (together with its meaning) or for each combination of items which mean something different from their constituent elements. These "break-downs" (some call them "build-ups") are the best way to handle so-called "idiomatic expressions", as in the Spanish use of *plata* (literally "silver") in the sense of "money", and of the definite article in connection with a reflexive where English would use the possessive: *la plata* "the [= your] money". If this procedure is carried through consistently, it avoids the need for giving large, indigestible masses of vocabulary at the beginning of each lesson, as is customary in traditional grammar-oriented texts; it is convenient and helpful to the learner if the new vocabulary introduced in each unit is collected, for reference-purposes

only, in a list at the end of the unit, but even this is not absolutely necessary.

The best model for the target-language—i.e. the best person to imitate in his or her use of the language—is a native speaker, some-one who has learned it as his or her mother tongue. (This does not mean that the native speaker is always the best authority on the structure or functioning of the language; cf. below, Chapter 11.) The chief advantage of the native speaker is his or her familiarity with the cultural situation in which the language is used, and with the normal linguistic responses to those situations. Even the best non-native speaker is likely to be confronted with problems of usage on which he does not have the total experience, and hence the ability to solve them, which every native speaker has. One must guard, of course, against the frequent tendency that naïve native speakers have, when serving as models for imitation, to get off the subject and waste the learner's time on irrelevancies. The beauties of French literature or the depths of the Russian soul are doubtless very worthy topics in themselves, but have nothing to do, *at the elementary level,* with the job in hand, which is that of acquiring the habits of speech (and, later, those of writing) of the French or Russian language.

In ordinary situations, we of course prefer to have, as a model, a native speaker of the socially acceptable, standard variety of the target-language. Without being snobbish or pedantic, we can still recognize that non-standard native speakers are likely to introduce, into their speech, features that may prove unacceptable to standard speakers. For instance, speakers of lower-class Neapolitan have /š/ (like English *sh*) instead of /s/ before a following consonant, and pronounce, say, *stanco* "tired" as /štánko/ instead of /stánko/,[11] a pronunciation which grates harshly on the ears of other Italians. Speakers of non-standard varieties are also likely to have an incomplete knowledge of the standard language, and hence to be insecure and to pro-

[11] In our phonetic and phonemic transcriptions, we follow in general the usage of the International Phonetic Alphabet or closely allied systems; cf. the table of symbols in Appendix B.

duce inaccurate forms as a result of false analogies with their native dialect. Thus, a certain speaker of South Italian once gave, in a text-book, the pronunciation /sigarétta/ (with an open [ɛ] like that of English *bet*) for "cigarette" instead of the standard /sigarétta/ (with a close [e] like that of English *hate*).

The actual work of learning the basic sentences consists in the learner's listening to the native speaker (sometimes called "informant",[12] more often "drill-master") pronounce them, and then doing his best to imitate the native speaker in all respects (including stress, juncture, and intonation) until the drill-master is satisfied with the imitation. In the best of situations, where there is only one learner and one drill-master, of course the learner benefits by receiving full attention. Usually, in the ordinary classroom relationship, we must resort to various devices so as to assure the maximum of results for each individual, while not wasting the drill-master's time. At the out-set of each unit's work, it is best to go through the basic sentences at least once (more than once, if time is available) with choral repetition. The drill-master says the item (breakdown or complete sentence) and the entire group repeats after him or her in chorus; the process is repeated, and the drill-master moves on to the next item, and so on throughout the basic sentences. Choral repetition, particularly at the beginning of each unit, helps to remove any feeling of strangeness, and particularly the embarrassment which many people feel when called on to do something like repeating linguistic material with which they are not familiar. After the choral repetition, the drill-master calls on each individual to repeat an item; in the case of unsatisfactory imitation, two or three more repetitions are in order (not more, because a point of diminishing returns is usually reached, embarrassment sets in, and bad psychological blockage can result).

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[12]The term *informant* means only "source of information", which is what a native speaker normally functions as; however, since so many people confuse *informant* with *informer* "one who 'snitches' to the police", it is advisable to use some other term, such as *drill-master*.

What happens if no native speaker is available? Some have said, "This system of yours may be very fine, *if* you have a native speaker to act as drill-master; but in most American communities there are no native speakers, particularly of French, on hand—or those who are available are speakers of non-standard varieties and hence not desirable as informants." Even in the days before audio equipment was widely available, this objection was less cogent than was frequently thought, since American teachers could and often did improve their performance to the point where it was an acceptable substitute for that of a native speaker. However, anything that a native speaker can produce can also be recorded, and the class-room situation can be approximated even further by "spaced repetition", in which the spoken material is spaced out with intervening stretches of silence during which the listeners repeat what they have just heard. Nowadays, with a very large amount of recorded material available on tape and disc, keyed to a number of well-written texts in virtually every language that is in any demand, there is no justification for taking refuge behind the excuse "We can't get a native speaker". Nor is there any basis for the accusation that the oral approach reduces the American teacher to being a mere operator of the recording-device. A phonograph or a tape-recorder can only reproduce what has been recorded; it cannot evaluate the learners' performance. The American teacher still has the highly important rôle of guiding and criticizing the quality of his students' imitation; if he does not have enough knowledge of the target-language to do this, he is unfit to be in charge of the class at all.

"And what if I haven't got a decent text-book, such as those you've been describing? Suppose the person in charge of language-work is old-fashioned and thinks all this new-fangled oral-approach stuff is a lot of tommy-rot?" Even so, you can transform even the stodgiest old-style text into something at least usable. Every language-text has some passages which can be recast as basic sentences, by putting them in columns with the English equivalent

opposite them, and adding the necessary break-downs or build-ups. If you are being forced to treat the foreign language as a puzzle to be solved, the next step is for you to prepare your own basic sentences with the help of the translations you have made. (The very process of preparing them will help you learn them, as will the necessity for finding out exactly what they mean and how they fit together.) Do not, however, try to invent new basic sentences of your own; especially at the beginning, there are too many traps in the way of exceptions and unusual features that may trip you up.

The basic sentences constitute the first step in the learning-process, and are an indispensable basis for all that follows; as such, they must be learned completely and thoroughly—so completely that they are "over-learned". This takes considerable effort, and is, for many people, a time-consuming and wearying task; but it should not be dismissed as "mere rote memorization", or sneered at as not involving intellectual activity. For the most profitable use of the target-language at a later stage, the underlying non-intellectual habits, in the shape of motor memory, must be built up first, and completely internalized so that the learner's attention is eventually freed for more rapid and active intellectual activity without disturbance due to faulty knowledge of the basic elements of the language.

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Chapter 11. Discovering the Patterns

Learning the basic sentences is, for a linguistic adult, not enough, and must be supplemented by accurate knowledge of the structural patterns contained in them, as well as by extensive practice on these patterns, before the

learner can go on to active improvisation. Before the age of, say, ten or twelve, the child learner can go ahead on his or her own and build up the habits of the new language without major interference from those of the point-of-departure language; and, in the child, analytical ability and interest are not far enough developed to enable him to profit from a comparison of the grammatical patterns of the two languages. After this age, however, we are all "set in our ways" with regard to our native language-habits, and will inevitably carry them over into any new language we learn. To overcome this difficulty, we must become analytically aware of the cause of our troubles, i.e. of the points of our first-language structure that are interfering with our catching onto the different patterns we find in the target-language. Simply as native speakers of a language—in the case of Americans, normally English—we are by no means necessarily knowledgeable concerning these grammatical matters, and hence need to rely on the findings of professional linguistic analysts, who have a large rôle to play in finding the points of difference and making them known to us. Since no two target-languages have the same points of difference from English, this job has to be done separately for each language, and embodied in separate discussions; there is no such thing as "general grammar" which can solve these problems at once and for all languages.

Difficulties can arise, as pointed out in Chapter 3, on all levels of linguistic structure. They should be taken up, in an ideal language-text, immediately after the basic sentences in each unit, with a section devoted to pronunciation and spelling, and another devoted to grammatical matters (both morphology and syntax). If not after each group of basic sentences, then the grammatical discussion should come after every other group or so. (It is not desirable to have a separate section at the end of the book to which all treatment of pronunciation is relegated; this procedure affords too much encouragement to those who wish to neglect pronunciation and consider it "unimportant" in learning a foreign language.) Here are samples of the treatment of specific pronunciation-features:

German (from Rehder and Twaddell):

2.6. Two non-English sounds

The two German words for *me*—the accusative **mich** and the dative **mir**—end in sounds which do not normally occur at the end of English words. . . . The sound at the end of **mich** has to be made quite distinct from both *ck* and *sh*, since all three sounds are part of the German pronunciation system, and all three are distinctively different from each other in German. Practice **nicht** *not* and **ich** *I* and **mich** *me* (accusative). Then practice the complete sentences **Ich bin nicht Frau Busch** and **Können Sie mich verstehen?** Then practice **auch** *also, too* and **hoch** *high, up*.

This **ch**-sound of German occurs in English only before the *you*-sound in words like *human*. One way to learn to hear it is to pronounce *human* with a strong '*h*'. Then shorten *human* to *hue*, keeping the '*h*' strong. Then put a short '*i*' in front of *hue: ihue*. Then stop after the strong '*h*': you should be pretty close to German **ich** *I*.—Another trick is to take a deep breath and sing a short '*i*', suddenly switching to a whisper while you hold everything else steady.—Most students do not need to practice these vocal acrobatics; you will probably get the **ch**-sound by careful listening and accurate imitation.

Italian (from Hall, 1959, Unit 6):

B. PRONUNCIATION AND SPELLING

1. *Dental Consonants.* The consonants *t, d, n* and the two represented by *z* (similar to Eng. *ts* and *dz*) are known as dental consonants, since in Italian they are pronounced with the tip of the tongue raised against the inside of the upper front teeth. In this respect they contrast with the corresponding English sounds, in that these latter are usually pronounced with the tip of the tongue raised, not against the inside of the upper front teeth, but farther back, against the gum-ridge. Practise the difference between the Italian and the English sounds in the following pairs of words:

Practice 1

Italian	English
Tini (family name)	teeny
De Toni (family name)	Daytona
netto "net" (adj.)	net
pazzo "crazy"	pats
lazzo "gag, joke"	adze

It can be seen from these examples that the main emphasis is laid on a practical understanding of the major

differences, so that the learner can catch onto them without too much difficulty. Excessive detail and terminological complications usually hinder, rather than help, most learners. Sometimes tricks of various kinds, such as those suggested by Rehder and Twaddell for learning the German sound spelled *ch* in *ich* "I", are helpful, but they are not of the essence. Practice can be given, either on the sounds of the foreign language without reference to the learner's language, or on a comparison of both; the latter procedure is especially helpful in creating an awareness of the differences involved. It can also be helpful to have the learners pronounce their own language with a deliberate imitation of a foreign accent, so as to get a "feel" for the basis of articulation of the target-language.

Opinions differ as to the desirability of a special phonetic or phonemic transcription as a help to the learning-process. With languages such as French and English, the divergence between the conventional spelling and the actual facts of the language is so great that extensive presentation and discussion of pronunciation-problems are essential; and the most efficient aid in this connection is a transcription. In some texts for teaching these two languages, the basic sentences are given in three columns, as shown on p. 52. In dealing with languages whose orthographies are closer to the actual pronunciation (e.g. German, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian), very few text-books use the three-column technique. Unfortunately, many naïve learners come to their task with the preconceived notion that the traditional orthography is the "real" language, and resent the use of any other type of spelling, even though it may give a far more accurate representation of what they are actually learning to hear and say, and may in the long run be more helpful to them than diving head foremost into the confusing and misleading conventional spelling. Due to the resistance met from learners with this attitude, few writers of texts now spend the extra time and few publishers want to invest the extra money in the complicated printing-job required when so much special press-work is required to set a transcription. If a transcription is used at

all, however, it should be given for the complete basic sentences, not just for individual words, since, in languages like French or English, there are all kinds of changes which take place in the utterance of full sentences which are not evident when words are spoken in isolation.

Here are two examples of the way structural patterns are presented and grammatical problems discussed.

Spanish (from Agard, Unit 1):

D. GRAMMAR.

The major word-classes—"parts of speech"—of Spanish are, as in English, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs. In due course, we shall identify each class and study (a) its inflectional variability if any, and (b) its role or "function" in constructions.

1. PHRASES. Phrases are groups of words that function as units when included in larger constructions. A phrase is a fixed-order sequence built around a HEAD-WORD that is typically a noun, an adjective or an adverb. The other components of the phrase are MODIFIERS. We boldface the head-words in the following phrases you have seen:

NOUN PHRASES	buenos **días** su **permiso** cuatro **maletas** un **baúl** pequeño el **señor** Segarra la **sala** de espera	Lone nouns and noun phrases are subsumed as Nominals
ADJECTIVE PHRASES	bien **parecido** un poco **delicada** muy **simpático**	Lone adjectives and adjective phrases are subsumed as Adjectivals
ADVERB PHRASES	muy **bien**	Lone adverbs and adverb phrases are subsumed as Adverbials

Noun Phrases. The head-word of a noun phrase is, by definition of course, a noun. There are three modifier positions, or slots, in the phrase: (a) the determiner slot, always first; (b) the limiting modifier (limiter) slot, between determiner and head-word; (c) the distinguishing modifier (distinguisher) slot, following the head-word. The order of slots is then as follows, with examples:

DETERMINER	LIMITER	HEAD-WORD	DISTINGUISHER
el		viaje	
mi		esposa	
su		permiso	
ese		muchacho	
esta		maleta	
un		baúl	pequeño
los		Estados	Unidos
la		señorita	González
la		sala	
la		oficina	de espera
el		autobús	de aduana
	dos	cajas	para Madrid
	cuatro	maletas	de caramelos
	buenos	días	
	muchas	gracias	

We may expect to find phrases with both a determiner and a limiter, for example **los dos paquetes** *the two packages.*

2. NOUNS. All Spanish nouns have a basic singular form, and many also have a plural form. (They have no possessive form like English nouns; compare *man, men,* as well as *man's, men's.*) Plural formation is by the addition of **-s** or **-es** to the base as follows:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Base ends in unaccented vowel Add **-s**	tarde noche día muchacha muchacho caramelo	tardes noches días muchachas muchachos caramelos
Base ends in consonant Add **-es**	señor baúl autobús	señores baules autobuses

Italian (from Hall, 1959, Unit 11):

4. *Verbs: The Perfect Phrase.*

Pattern 169

hò+ capito "I have understood"
abbiamo capito "we have understood"

Pattern 170
sono venuta "I (f.sg.) have come"
sèi stata "you (f.sg.) have been"
siamo state "we (f.pl.) have been"

As in English, the past participle is used in forming a phrase with an inflected verb, which, since it is often thought of as "helping" the past participle to indicate the person and number of the actor, is traditionally called an *auxiliary* verb. In English, we have only one verb, *have*, which we use as an auxiliary in forming phrases of this type, which are termed perfect phrases: e.g. *I have understood, we have come, you have been, they have eaten their supper*, etc. When the auxiliary is in the present (as here), the perfect phrase is termed a *present perfect*. In Italian, on the other hand, two verbs are used as auxiliaries in forming perfect phrases: *avere* (as shown in Pattern 169) and *èssere* (as shown in Pattern 170), although the English equivalent for both types is "have . . . -ed, has . . . -ed". In this unit, we shall analyze only the type of perfect phrase formed with the auxiliary *èssere*, and shall reserve that formed with the auxiliary *avere* for discussion in Unit XII–C–5. For the time being, in the exercises and conversations of Unit XI, limit yourself to using perfect phrases formed with the auxiliary *èssere*, and do not try to form perfect phrases with *avere* until you come to Unit XII.

Any grammatical explanation has two main purposes: (1) to help the learner see the structural patterns that are inherent in what he has memorized so far, and the similarities and differences when they are compared with his point-of-departure language; and (2) to tell him how far he can go in making new combinations with the already learned material or with any new material he may learn. From this, it is evident that all grammatical discussion must be based primarily (although not necessarily exclusively) on what the learner already knows, in accordance with the fundamental pedagogical principle of proceeding from the known to the unknown. It does not much matter whether the expository section of the discussion precedes the examples or follows them; but the examples should take up points already exemplified in the basic sentences (or, putting it the other way around, to a certain extent the basic sentences should contain instances of what is to be discussed in the grammar-section). Subsidiary material may on occasion be brought in to afford further examples of something which is exemplified only scantily in the basic sentences, as in this instance (Italian, from Hall, 1959, Unit 24):

2. *Past Participles + Pro-Complements.*

Pattern 341

verificàtisi "having verified themselves = having taken place"
and similarly:

sapùtolo "having known it"
arrivàtici "having arrived there"
presantàtomi "presented to me"
una manifestazione svòltasi nell'Àula Magna "a manifestation which was held in the Great Hall"

Being a non-finite verbal form, like the present participle and the infinitive (Unit IV–C–2), the past participle takes all pro-complements suffixed to it.

To the traditional grammarian and the structural linguistic analyst alike, grammar is a fascinating topic in itself; but for the average language-learner, it has only a strictly functional purpose, that of helping him to understand how the target-language ticks. All grammatical explanations should therefore be limited to fulfilling this aim, whether they are presented in print for the learner to read and absorb, or if they come up in class-room discussion. Memorizing of rules in and for themselves, in the way described on pp. 19–20, is of very questionable value for the ordinary learner. At most, he may be expected to know the principles involved (whether he can spout a rule verbatim in the exact form it is given in the text-book or not) so as to apply them in his pattern-drills and his free conversation (cf. Chapters 12 and 13). The important question is whether he can make the necessary agreements, say, between determiners, head, and modifiers, or whether he can use the appropriate auxiliary in a perfect phrase. Grammar, to have any place at all in the learning-process, must be thoroughly functional.

On the other hand, it should be clear that grammar, in the sense we have given it here (an analysis of the structural patterns inherent in the habits of the target-language), is by no means "banished" from the learning-process or even "de-emphasized", as some superficial critics have alleged. On the contrary, it has been given a more meaningful function and hence a larger share of attention than has hitherto been customary. The only kind of grammar that has been banished is the kind which we have (as pointed

out in Chapter 4) inherited from antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance—the ingurgitation and regurgitation of mere rules, which prescribe what some grammarian thinks speakers ought to say rather than describing the actual facts of what they do say. This kind of grammar is a hindrance, not a help, to the learning of any language, classical or modern, and the sooner it is replaced everywhere by a modern, descriptive, functional grammar, the better.

If the grammar given in any particular text is of the archaic type which prescribes through giving rules, it can easily be recast along the lines that we have just suggested. Either the teacher or the student can collect examples of the form or construction that is being discussed and can then make a statement covering the similarities and the differences, in comparison with English. (Especially for the student, this is a good exercise, and will often help him or her to understand the situation in the foreign language much better than would the mere memorizing of a rule.) If one is forced to construct one's own pattern-drills (cf. Chapter 12), this process is an absolute prerequisite, since one can hardly drill on a pattern without knowing what the pattern is.

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Foreign-language learning in childhood: Andersson.
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Chapter 12. Practising the Patterns

A batch of sentences, even perfectly memorized, are not enough; even a perfect understanding of the structural patterns inherent in those sentences is not enough. For further use of the language, the learner must acquire facility in extending the patterns he has learned, to the limits that he has been given for their use. To this end, the third step in dealing with any given unit of subject-

matter must be as much practice as possible, based primarily (although not necessarily exclusively) on what he has learned to date. There are two main types of practice-drill: that involving substitution of one item for another in the same frame, and that involving a change of one item to correlate it with another item which has been changed. These two types of drill are known, respectively, as *substitution*-drill and *correlation*-drill. Under each type, there are two possible further subdivisions: *simple* drill, changing only one part of the frame; and *progressive* drill, changing first one part and then another.

Here is an example of a simple substitution-drill for the French construction NOUN + the preposition *de* "of" + NOUN, indicating possession, set up for the drill-master to give the complete expression that is used as a starting-point, and then to call on various students to substitute one noun or another after *de* "of":

Drill-Master:	Learner(s):
La plume de ma tante.	*La plume de ma tante* "my aunt's pen".
Drill-Master:	**Individual Students:**
Jean.	*La plume de Jean* "John's pen".
Marie.	*La plume de Marie* "Mary's pen".
Mon oncle.	*La plume de mon oncle* "my uncle's pen".
Monsieur Durand.	*La plume de monsieur Durand* "Mr. Durand's pen".
Madame Perrault.	*La plume de madame Perrault* "Mrs. Perrault's pen".
Mon fils.	*La plume de mon fils* "my son's pen".
Ma fille.	*La plume de ma fille* "my daughter's pen".
Ma tante.	*La plume de ma tante* "my aunt's pen".

Notice that, in this drill, all the items following *de* "of" can be substituted, the one for the other, without any change in the rest of the frame. In this particular drill, therefore, we would avoid using such a substitution-item as

le professeur "the teacher", because *la plume de* + *le professeur* would have to involve a change in the frame, the replacement of *de* + m. sg. *le* "the" by *du*, in *la plume du professeur* "the teacher's pen". If this is necessary, we no longer have a simple substitution-drill, but a progressive one.

Another example, this time for the Latin construction SUBJECT (noun in the nominative singular) + VERB:

Drill-Master:	Learner(s):
Puella properat.	*Puella properat* "The girl hastens".
Agricola.	*Agricola properat* "The farmer hastens".
Galba.	*Galba properat* "Galba hastens".
Nauta.	*Nauta properat* "The sailor hastens".
Lesbia.	*Lesbia properat* "Lesbia hastens".
Regīna.	*Regīna properat* "The queen hastens".
Puella.	*Puella properat* "The girl hastens".

In general, the pattern-drill should be kept quite short, containing not more than six or eight items; many specialists consider that, as in the examples shown, the drill should return at the end to the exact sentence or phrase from which it started. There is a double advantage in having the simple substitution as our first type of drill on any construction. It affords practice in having different items in one particular position in the frame being practised (*mon fils, ma fille, monsieur Durand,* etc., in the French drill just cited; *puella, agricola, Galba,* etc., in the Latin one); and, by constant repetition, it re-inforces the learner's knowledge of the part of the frame that does not change. The learner should always given the English meaning of what he has just said in accordance with the required substitution; if the meaning is not kept in mind all the time (and checked on by being given out loud), the repetition may become mere parroting without understanding of what is being said.

In a progressive substitution-drill, the basic frame is kept the same, but the parts of the frame are changed, one after the other, as in the following French and Latin drills, each of them an expansion of the one given above:

French

Drill-Master:	Learner(s):
La plume de ma tante.	*La plume de ma tante* "my aunt's pen".
Jean.	*La plume de Jean* "John's pen".
Cravate.	*La cravate de Jean* "John's neck-tie".
Mon oncle.	*La cravate de mon oncle* "my uncle's neck-tie".
Fourchette.	*La fourchette de mon oncle* "my uncle's fork".
Ma tante.	*La fourchette de ma tante* "my aunt's fork".
Plume.	*La plume de ma tante* "my aunt's pen".

Latin

Drill-Master:	Learner(s):
Puella properat.	*Puella properat* "The girl hastens".
Agricola.	*Agricola properat* "The farmer hastens".
Amat.	*Agricola amat* "The farmer loves".
Galba.	*Galba amat* "Galba loves".
Labōrat.	*Galba labōrat* "Galba toils".
Lesbia.	*Lesbia labōrat* "Lesbia toils".
Vocat.	*Lesbia vocat* "Lesbia calls".
Puella.	*Puella vocat* "The girl calls".
Properat.	*Puella properat* "The girl hastens".

This type of drill is very helpful, immediately after a number of simple substition-drills, to give the learner a chance to introduce all the material he has learned that fits into the same frames he has just been practising. Naturally, it is up to the drill-master either to prepare appropriate drills on his own, thinking out carefully in advance what words will fit into what frames, or to use appropriate drills prepared by some-one else. A pattern-drill, of even the

simple substitution or progressive substitution types, cannot be thought up on the spur of the moment.

If, when a new element is introduced into a frame, some other part of the frame has to be correlated with it by changing in some way or other (say, in gender, number, case, tense, or any other structural respect), we have a correlation-drill, as exemplified in these simple correlations for German, Spanish, and Latin.

German (for gender of definite article to go with noun):

Drill-Master:	Learner(s):
Die Stadt.	*Die Stadt* "the city".
Haus.	*Das Haus* "the house".
Mann.	*Der Mann* "the man".
Pferd.	*Das Pferd* "the horse".
Seite.	*Die Seite* "the page".
Bleistift.	*Der Bleistift* "the pencil".
Buch.	*Das Buch* "the book".
Stadt.	*Die Stadt* "the city".

Spanish (from Agard, Unit 4):

3. Add y yo to each subject, and adjust the core accordingly [i.e. change the verb from third person singular to first person plural]:

Drill-Master:	Learner(s):
Ana no lo sabe.	*Ana y yo no lo sabemos* "Anna and I don't know [it]".
Mi hermana tiene un trabajo muy interesante.	*Mi hermana y yo tenemos un trabajo muy interesante* "My sister and I have a very interesting work".
Él no quiere invitar a los Arjona.	*Él y yo no queremos invitar a los Arjona* "He and I don't want to invite the Arjonas".
Enrique no dice esas cosas.	*Enrique y yo no decimos esas cosas* "Henry and I don't say those things".
¿Por qué no lleva Usted el tocadiscos al club?	*¿Por qué no llevamos Usted y yo el tocadiscos al club?* "Why don't you and I take the record-player to the club?"

Drill-Master	Learner(s):
Las niñas vienen por un momento solamente.	*Las niñas y yo venimos por un momento solamente* "The girls and I are coming for just a minute".
Alberto observa muchas cosas en la fiesta.	*Alberto y yo observamos muchas cosas en la fiesta* "Albert and I observe many things at the fiesta".

Latin (for replacement of nominative by accusative when noun becomes direct object of verb):

Drill-Master:	Learner(s):
Puellam videt.	*Puellam videt* "He sees the girl".
Galba.	*Galbam videt* "He sees Galba".
Agricola.	*Agricolam videt* "He sees the farmer".
Nauta.	*Nautam videt* "He sees the sailor".
Lesbia.	*Lesbiam videt* "He sees Lesbia".
Regīna.	*Regīnam videt* "He sees the queen".
Puella.	*Puellam videt* "He sees the girl".

These three examples are all from fairly elementary levels of structure; but simple correlation-drills can be used at all levels, and are particularly useful for emphasizing the changes which come about when clauses are made subordinate (are incorporated or "embedded" in others), as in the following for the use of the subjunctive instead of the indicative after a verb phrase like *il faut que* "it is necessary that . . ." in French:

Drill-Master:	Learner(s):
Il faut.	*Il faut* "It is necessary".
Il le fait.	*Il le fait* "He does it".
Il faut qu'il le fasse.	*Il faut qu'il le fasse* "It is necessary that he do it".
Il le voit.	*Il faut qu'il le voie* "It is necessary that he see it".
Il le mange.	*Il faut qu'il le mange* "It is necessary that he eat it".
Il le finit.	*Il faut qu'il le finisse* "It is necessary that he finish it".
Il le vend.	*Il faut qu'il le vende* "It is necessary that he sell it".
Il le prend.	*Il faut qu'il le prenne* "It is necessary that he take it".

Il le fait.	*Il faut qu'il le fasse* "It is necessary that he do it".

Finally, just as in the progressive substitution-drills, in the correlation-drill first one element and then the other can be changed. If the frame to be varied has only two parts, then we have a *bipartite progressive* correlation-drill, as in the following one for German, in which the use of accusative and dative after specific prepositions is practised:

Drill-Master	Learner(s):
Mit dem Pferd.	*Mit dem Pferd* "with the horse".
Ohne.	*Ohne das Pferd* "without the horse".
Hund.	*Ohne den Hund* "without the dog".
Von.	*Von dem Hund* "from the dog".
Stadt.	*Von der Stadt* "from the city".
Über.	*Über die Stadt* "over the city".
Haus.	*Über das Haus* "over the house".
Aus.	*Aus dem Hause* "out of the house".
Ecke.	*Aus der Ecke* "out of the corner".
Um.	*Um die Ecke* "around the corner".
Pferd.	*Um das Pferd* "about the horse".
Mit.	*Mit dem Pferd* "with the horse".

If we have three or more parts, the drill naturally becomes somewhat longer, in a *tri-* or *quadripartite* arrangement. Normally, it is not rewarding to vary more than three parts at a time, as in the following drill for Italian (SUBJECT, DIRECT OBJECT [noun or pronoun], and VERB):

Drill-Master:	Learner(s):
Giovanni e Maria cómprano la casa.	*Giovanni e Maria cómprano la casa* "John and Mary buy the house".
La.	*Giovanni e Maria la cómprano* "John and Mary buy it".
Giovanni.	*Giovanni la compra* "John buys it".
Vedere.	*Giovanni la vede* "John sees it".

Drill-Master:	Learner(s):
Io	*Io la vedo* "I see it".
Il terreno.	*Io vedo il terreno* "I see the lot".
Noi.	*Noi vediamo il terreno* "We see the lot".
Lo.	*Noi lo vediamo* "We see it".
Comprare.	*Noi lo compriamo* "We buy it".
La casa.	*Noi compriamo la casa* "We buy the house".
Loro.	*Loro cómprano la casa* "They buy the house".
Giovanni e Maria.	*Giovanni e Maria cómprano la casa* "John and Mary buy the house".

The number of such drills that can be constructed, even on a simple group of patterns at the elementary level, is surprisingly large. The "born language-learner" practises this kind of variation more or less instinctively and, often, more or less outside of awareness, for fun, while he or she is going about every-day business; but, for many people, this kind of drill needs to be made explicit and frequent, so that it becomes a large part of the work done in any given unit. The exercises given in most conservative language-texts are insufficient in both quality and quantity, and should be supplemented by large numbers of pattern-drills covering every point that has arisen in what is being worked on. Needless to say, the pattern-drills should emphasize those respects in which the target-language differs from the learner's language. If, for instance, both French and English have in common the structure SUBJECT + PREDICATE for the declarative sentence, as in *Je travaille* "I work", there is no need for a pattern-drill to get this point across to the English learner of French or to the French learner of English.

Here, as in the other aspects of the learning-process we have been discussing, if the learner is "on his own" he can nevertheless construct pattern-drills as necessary. Once he has isolated the points that cause difficulty, and perceived

their patterns, as suggested in the previous chapter, he should try to make as many substitutions as possible, using all the vocabulary he has learned to date that will fit into the pattern he is working on, and similarly with all the correlations between different forms and constructions. He should go over these as many times as possible, not only once or so during the time set aside for working on the target-language, but during all free moments, and even while occupied with other work of a mechanical kind. Both oral and written practice are useful: the oral, for developing motor memory, so that the organs of speech get the proper training in free and uninhibited production of the patterns; and the written, for fixing the patterns firmly through conscious attention.

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Chapter 13. Reviewing and Improvising

One of the major characteristics of our every-day speech-activity is that we do not normally speak "set pieces"; in general, when we begin a conversation, we may have a clear idea of what we intend to say, but how we say it—that is, with what specific words and grammatical constructions—is thought up pretty much on the spur of the moment. This means that, when we are in a give-and-take conversation with some-one else, we can never predict, from one minute to the next, what the other person is going to say. We have to be prepared to understand what he or she will be improvising, just as much as we have to improvise on our part. We do not usually think of our customary talking as being virtually all improvised, because, in the performing arts where our attention is called to the rendition of speech or music, present-day virtuosity is concentrated almost wholly on "set pieces". Actors memorize their lines and speak them in plays; musicians either

memorize or play from written notation; and both actors and musicians reproduce what either they themselves or some-one else has already thought out and written down. Improvisation in the theater disappeared with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *commedia dell'arte;* it lasted longer in music, and down to the latter part of the nineteenth century such musicians as Hummel, Beethoven, and Liszt gained a major part of their fame through their skill as improvisers. Jazz is almost the only aspect of present-day music where improvisation has retained its importance. But our whole view of language will be badly distorted unless we recognize the fundamentally improvisatory nature of every-day linguistic activity (including our "thinking", i.e. talking to ourselves, as well as in overt conversation).

The first step in training our [illegible] deal with unexpected material in the target-l[illegible]s to practise the passive understanding of unfam[illegible]aterial, through our ears and our eyes alike. This is most effectively done through review-work on passages which contain new arrangements of words and constructions we have already learned in basic sentences and pattern-analysis and -practice. Of course the intelligent learner will always be reviewing previous work anyhow, making sure that he has not forgotten what he learned earlier, in his concentration on more recent acquisitions. The type of work which we are suggesting here is a major subdivision of the over-all category of review; unlike ordinary reviewing, however, this kind will enable the reader to develop further skills as he goes over already familiar ground.

Most traditional-style language-texts have passages for review reading, designed in general along the lines we have suggested. These are very good, and afford much-needed practice in reading at sight. However, they need to be supplemented, for auditory purposes, by material designed primarily to be heard and responded to orally: the so-called *review-dialogue*. The essential aim of such a dialogue is to give the learner some idea of how what he has already gone over might be used, in different combinations, by native speakers of the language; the impression pro-

duced is that of "listening in", as it were, on apparently normal and spontaneous but actually carefully pre-arranged conversations. (For this reason, some texts have used the title "Listening In" for the review-dialogue section of each unit.) Here is a sample review-dialogue for Spanish (Agard, Unit 14):

Peter:	¡Buenos días, Miguel!	
Michael:	¡Pedro! ¡Tú aquí! ¡Cuánto tiempo sin verte!	
Peter:	He estado en el extranjero. Pasé el verano en España.	
Michael:	¡No me digas! ¡Qué interesante! Cuéntame, pues.	
Peter:	¿Qué quieres saber?	
Michael:	Bueno, es que tengo verdadera curiosidad por saber algo concreto sobre las dueñas.	verdadera *true, real* las dueñas *duennas*
Peter:	¿Las dueñas? ¿Qué es eso?	
Michael:	Esas señoras viejas que acompañaban a las muchachas cuando salen con muchachos.	
Peter:	Ah, ya. ¿Pero tú crees en eso?	
Michael:	Todo el mundo lo dice.	
Peter:	Pues no es cierto.	
Michael:	¿Ya no se encuentran dueñas, entonces?	
Peter:	Tal vez existían en el siglo XIX, pero no en el XX.	
Michael:	¿Saliste tú con alguna española?	
Peter:	Salí con varias, pero especialmente con una: Rosita Costales. [Etc.]	

This review-dialogue follows, in Agard's Unit 14, hard on the basic sentences (of which part were given on p. 51) and a section of substitution-drills. The vocabulary is entirely based on that of preceding units, with the exception of a few additional words, which are listed, together with their meaning, in the margin. No English equivalent is given;[13] part of the purpose of the review-dialogue is to

[13]The meaning of this dialogue is: P.—Hello, Michael! M.—Peter! You here! How long a time without seeing you! P.—I've been abroad. I passed the summer in Spain. M.—You don't say! How interesting! Then tell me. P.—What do you want to know? M.—Well, the fact is I have a real curiosity to know something specific about duennas. P.—Duennas? What's that? M.—Those old ladies who went along with girls when they went out with

afford the learner a chance to understand the meaning of a series of sentences without being given the translation. The dialogue incorporates several constructions that have been introduced in preceding units, such as the imperfect tense of verbs (*acompañaban* "used to accompany", *existían* "used to exist") and the preterite tense (*pasé* "I passed", *saliste* "you went out", *salí* "I went out"); the personal pronouns *me* "me", *tú* "thou", *te* "thee"); the various forms used for command (*cuéntame* "tell me," *no me digas* "don't say to me"); and the use of the preposition *a* before a personal direct object (*acompañaban a las muchachas* "used to accompany the girls"). It also continues and gives further information on the question of dating and boy-girl relationships in Spain.

In a class-room situation, the review-diaglogue, to be most effective, is presented first as a purely auditory exercise, with books closed. The drill-master reads a section through, without stopping; then he reads it again, saying each sentence once and waiting for the group to repeat it in chorus. Still no translation, but at this point the drill-master allows any learner who has not fully understood the dialogue to ask for an explanation of the part that was not clear. Then another time through, the drill-master modelling each sentence and calling on first one individual and then another to repeat the sentence that has just been read. A fourth time through, again with the individual repetition and each learner giving the English meaning for the sentence he or she has just repeated. Then the group passes to another section of the review-dialogue and treats it the same way. In this manner, translation is not entirely banished, but is postponed, for each part of the dialogue, to a stage when the learner has had a chance to become thoroughly familiar with the sentences and to grasp their meaning, preferably through direct association in his imagination with the real-life situation to which they refer.

boys. P.—Ah, yes. But do you believe in that? M.—Every-one says so. P.—But it's not sure. M.—There aren't any duennas any more, then? P.—Maybe they existed in the nineteenth century, but not in the twentieth. M.—Did you go out with any Spanish girl? P.—I went out with several, but especially with one: Rosita Costales.

Usually, the work on one or more review-dialogues takes up a whole hour; the next step is for the learner to memorize the review-dialogues outside of class-time as thoroughly as the basic sentences were at the beginning of work on the unit. Then the learners should each take a part in a section of the dialogues, and speak them to each other from memory. Here begins the acting aspect of the learning-process: every time we take part in a conversation, even in our native tongue, we are acting a part (assuming a "persona" or mask, according to some psychologists) at least to a certain extent, and we must learn to do the same thing in the target-language. One of the best ways to acquire fluency in a foreign language is to learn a part in a play and act it out on the stage (see below, Chapter 18); memorizing and acting one of the parts in a review-dialogue affords the opportunity of doing this for every unit, without the formal organization of a play, a dramatic company, rehearsals, a stage, and so forth.

Inevitably, as the learners go over the review-dialogues, reciting them and taking the parts from memory, they will introduce minor variations, either in vocabulary or in grammatical structure. This is as it should be, since it forms an invaluable intermediate step on the way to developing freedom of expression in improvisation. The final part of the work on each unit should be improvised but structured conversation, in which two or more learners talk together on assigned topics and along predetermined lines. The all-important goal of this activity is to develop fluency in what has already been learned at any particular point, not to develop originality or individuality of expression. (Those are very legitimate goals, but belong at a much later stage.) The subject-matter of the conversations may be suggested, in the text, either in quite general terms or with more specific guide-lines laid down for the speakers, as in the following.

Spanish (Agard, Unit 14):

J. FREE CONVERSATION
1. Talking about some friends of yours who are getting married soon.
2. Explaining American dating to a Spaniard or Latin American.

Italian (Hall, 1959, Unit 8):

E. FREE CONVERSATION

1. Two men go to a barber-shop and get their hair cut. The barber asks where they are from (answer: Denmark and Germany; Mexico and Spain; etc.), what they are doing in Italy (possible answers: travelling, going to the university, etc.). They ask him what part of Italy he is from. After conversation, they ask how much, are told and requested to go to the cashier's desk, and do so and depart.
2. A similar conversation, but two girls at a beauty-parlor, getting hair trimmed, washed and set (or permanent wave), and talking with the hair-dresser.
3. At a bar, you ask for refreshments, and then inquire where you can get various items (suits, shoes, shirts) washed, cleaned, shined or repaired. Then ask how much, find out, and pay at the cashier's desk.
4. The weather is foul, so instead of going out, one or more persons stay in at the pensione and talk with the land-lady about the various people (nationalities, etc.) that come to the pensione, and which nationalities she and they prefer, and why.

The rôle of the drill-master in this situation is primarily that of observer and critic, and resource-person for any linguistic problems that may arise. In many language-classes, conversation gets restricted to question-and-answer sessions between teacher and students; as a device, this is satisfactory in itself, but it should not be the only or even the main part of the proceedings. The learners need to over-come any inhibitions they may have about conversing, not only with the drill-master, but with each other; in this type of situation, the more extrovert and even show-off the learner is, the better. The drill-master has to use judgment in deciding whether to break in on a conversation or not in order to correct some grammatical error. By and large, the temptation to do so is great, and should be restrained except in cases where gross errors are constantly being made and are being re-inforced by going uncorrected. In general, however, it is better to let small errors go until the end of the conversation, and then simply correct them briefly, with repetition of the accurate expression by the entire group. In our culture, the average language-learner has, from the start, too many inhibitions, and feels under too much pressure to either produce a

completely correct sentence from the out-set or keep silent. Minor errors will, with constant but unobtrusive attention, be corrected eventually, and no-one can learn a language or anything else without making some mistakes along the line. (How many of us would ever learn to row a boat without catching a crab or two in the process?)

At the out-set, these conversations should be kept simple and short, and confined strictly to words, grammatical forms, and constructions already learned, with absolutely no premium (in fact, preferably, a negative premium) on originality. For the first five or six units, each conversation should be held by a single pair (trio, quartet) of learners, standing up in front of the rest of the group and acting it out. When every-one in the group has thoroughly mastered the technique, all the members can be paired off and given a topic to converse on; while they are all going at once in a "buzz-session" (in relatively low tones, so as not to wake up the class next door), the drill-master goes around from one pair to another and "listens in" for a minute or so at a time. This technique gives everybody, even in a relatively large group, a chance to be conversing all the time. Then, when the intermediate stage has been reached, more formal types of presentation can be undertaken, such as brief oral compositions (based on encyclopaedia-articles written in the foreign language, or the like) or debates, as in the following suggestions for discussions of music (Italian, from Hall, 1959, Unit 24):

Look up in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* or elsewhere and hold conversations or give reports (with examples on phonograph-records, played, or sung) on the following or similar topics:

1. One or more Verdi operas.
2. One or more operas by Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, Puccini etc.
3. Eighteenth-century Italian violin-music.
4. Eighteenth-century Italian violins.
5. Italian church-music.
6. Italian opera in eighteenth-century England (read Addison's *Spectator* letters on the opera).
7. As many arguments on music as you can get going.

It should be clear from this type of work that the oral-auditory approach to language-learning is in no wise inimical to medium- or high-level intellectual activity; it only

places this type of concern at the point where it belongs, i.e. after a firm basis has been gained in the usage and outlook of every-day life in the target-language and the culture of which it is a vehicle.

We must also emphasize the major rôle played by group activity in an all-inclusive langage-learning process. Human linguistic behavior is, as pointed out in Chapter 9, both an individual and a social phenomenon. Each individual has to build up his own idiolect, in learning a foreign language as well as his own native tongue; but he has to build it up in company with and through interaction with other individuals, in a group. The optimum size for a language-learning group varies from four or five (for the more exotic and difficult languages, e.g. Japanese, Chinese, or Burmese) to ten or eleven (for the more familiar languages). Two or three is, in general, too few; more than fifteen comes to be excessive. In most of our high-schools and colleges, this is of course a counsel of perfection, since administrative parsimony often loads teachers down with classes of twenty-five, thirty, and even more. With the help of audio-visual aids (cf. Chapter 18), or even without them, using the techniques of choral repetion, rapid-fire repetition or question-answering by individuals, and "buzz-sessions" that we have discussed in the last four chapters, the alert and vigorous teacher can accomplish a great deal even with a class of twenty-five or thirty. (One of the most lively and eager groups I ever had was a lower-intermediate French class of twenty-seven.) But anything over thirty is unmanageable, by any method whatsoever, and should be the object of violent protest and insistence that it be split up; no teacher or drill-master can ever hope to do a satisfactory job with such a large group.

At the opposite end of the spectrum of possibilities, a person may be learning a language alone, or a group may be working without an official teacher. The person working on his or her own will simply have to use imagination in creating as many of the situations as possible, especially by acting as his or her own drill-master and conversational partner. In an independent group, it is best to

name one person as "group-leader", who will act as co-ordinator of activities, e.g. in operating a tape-recorder, in calling on the members (including him- or herself) for responses, or for assigning parts in conversations. The major disadvantage in working without a drill-master (either singly or in a group) is that one is deprived of immediate feed-back as to the accuracy of one's analogical extension of the patterns inherent in the target-language-material that one has learned.

What kind of person is a good language-learner? There is a wide-spread notion that ability to learn a foreign language is a special "gift", without which the ordinary person can never hope to get very far. Evidence is accumulating, however, to show that the difficulties under which most of us labor in learning a new language are the result, not of any innate lack of aptitude (after all, every one of us learned one language, and in our childhood, at that!) but of inhibitions that our culture imposes on us. It helps if we can be in an environment where language-learning is looked on in a friendly, rather than a hostile or mocking, way, but it is not absolutely assential. All that any person needs, to learn a foreign language successfully, is freedom from fear of being conspicuous by making "funny noises" or new associations of form and meaning; a reasonably good memory; and a willingness to progress by trial and error, not being afraid to make mistakes, but being willing to learn from those one makes. All of these prerequisites are matters of attitude, rather than of innate ability. Given these attitudes and a reasonable amount of energy and application, any normal person, whether American or from any other cultural back-ground, can learn a new language successfully.

PART IV • *Interference from Old Habits*

Chapter 14. Sounds

Up to the age of about ten or so, a child can pick up a new set of linguistic habits with little or no interference from those of his native language. For a child, therefore, it does make sense to expect him to "pick up the foreign language in the same way he learned his mother tongue", and to arrange one's procedures accordingly. With linguistic adults, however, as pointed out on p. 18, any such aim is illusory, because they already have firmly fixed, not only in their brains, but in the motor habits of their nervous systems and muscles, the patterns of their native language, which are bound to interfere with any new patterns they may try to build up. Our main concern in this Part will be, therefore, with the main respects in which such interference can arise, and the lines that the prospective learner can follow to over-come such interference. We can hardly enumerate all the characteristics of all the languages that a modern American might conceivably be called upon to learn, since there are at least three thousand different languages on earth, and, in present-day conditions, virtually none of these can be said to be beyond the range of possible interest or need. (In Appendix A, we shall give a brief indication of the major difficulties that arise with the eight currently most widely studied languages.) We can, however, indicate briefly the main sources of interference that arise out of the structure of American English, so that the prospective learner can apply these hints to the problems he finds with the language of his choice. We shall begin with the phonological system of English and then take up problems that arise out of English morphology, syntax, and lexical structure.

Although we frequently fail to realize it, the sound-system of English is quite complicated (and hence offers considerable difficulties to foreigners who learn English); but its complications are different from those of most other languages. They begin with the vowel-sounds, of which we have the following:

Tense Vowels[14]		Lax Vowels	
IPA Symbol	Example	IPA Symbol	Example
[i]	*beat*	[ɪ]	*bit*
[e]	*bate*	[ɛ]	*bet*
[o]	*boat*	[ɔ]	*bought*
[u]	*boot*	[ʊ]	*put*

Other Vowels

IPA Symbol	Example
[æ]	*hat*
[a]	*hot*
[ʌ]	*hut*
[ə]	*sofa* (vowel of second syllable)

In addition to these, there is a rare vowel-sound, transcribed [i] and often called, from this way of transcribing it, *"barred eye"*, which occurs in a few people's pronunciation of the adverb *just* (sometimes written "jist", as in "That's jist too bad"). It would hardly be worth mentioning, except that some formulations of the English vowel-system (e.g. Trager and Smith) lay great stress upon it.

In most people's pronunciation, the four tense vowels [i e o u] are pronounced with a more or less marked off-glide, in which the top of the tongue moves upwards during and after the pronunciation of the vowel-sound itself:

[14] In this and all our other discussions of vowels and consonants, we are talking, not of letters, but of sounds; the only function of the letters between square brackets is to signal certain sounds, in accordance with their use in the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet). Note particularly that we make no division of vowels into "long" and "short": these terms are applicable only to certain functions of vowel-*letters*, and bear no relation to the realities of speech.

towards the front of the mouth in the case of [i e], towards the back in [o u]. The result is a diphthong rather than a single "pure" vowel;[15] the effect is very noticeable to speakers of other languages, and they will often transcribe English loan-words with diphthongs in their own orthographies, as in the case of Spanish *beisbol* < English *baseball*. In a great many other languages, the vowel-sounds are not diphthongized, but pure (according to our definition in foot-note 15); native speakers of English must make especial efforts to avoid carrying over English-style diphthongization into their pronunciation of pure vowel-sounds.

Not all languages have as many different vowel-sounds as English does: for instance, Italian has only seven stressed vowels, [i e ɛ a ɔ o u], and Spanish has only five [i e a o u]. Likewise, many languages do not have the contrast that English has between tense and lax in the vowel-system; in all the Romance languages, for example, all the vowel-sounds are tense. Speakers of English are likely, in learning such languages, to introduce unauthentic vowel-sounds, particularly the lax vowels [ɪ] and [ʊ]. The Spanish words *multa* ['multa] "cash penalty, fine" and *finca* ['fiŋka] "farm" must be pronounced with the tense vowels [u] and [i], respectively, not with English-style lax vowels as ['multə] and ['fɪŋkə].[16]

In unstressed syllables, a great many English vowels are reduced to the sound [ə], which is pronounced with the top of the tongue raised towards the middle of the center of the mouth; this sound, and the upside-down letter *e* used to represent it, are often called "schwa", from the name of a sign in Hebrew. Thus, the unstressed vowels

[15]Defining a *pure vowel* objectively as one during whose pronunciation there is no perceptible glide or movement of the top of the tongue. The term *pure* of course implies no value-judgment in this connection, since, in and of themselves, no sounds are better or worse than any others.

[16]In IPA transcription, the superior vertical tick ['] indicates that the following syllable receives full stress; the inferior vertical tick [,] indicates a stress intermediate between full and weak. In phonemic transcription, full stress is usually represented by the acute accent-mark /ˊ/, and intermediate stress by the grave accent-mark /ˋ/.

in the middle of such words as *cataract, imitate, philosophy, emulate,* and *camera* are all pronounced with a schwa-sound: ['kætəˌrækt], ['ɪməˌtet], [fə'lasəfi], ['ɛmjəˌlet], ['kæmərə]. In English, this is a perfectly normal and natural phenomenon, and there is nothing wrong with it (it does not constitute a "debasement" or "corruption" of the language, as some excessively eye-minded purists have thought). But this replacement of unstressed vowel-sounds by schwa must not be carried over from English into languages that do not have any such sound, e.g. Italian or Spanish. In other instances, a language may have schwa or some very closely similar sound in its system, but with a very different function, as in Portuguese, where [ə] is simply a positional variant of the phoneme /a/, e.g. /kámara/ "room" ['kɔ̃mərə]. In both kinds of situations, the speaker of English must learn to keep the top of his tongue in the proper position for a clearly distinct, centered vowel-sound, even when it is in an unstressed syllable.

In English, the actual length of time taken in pronouncing a vowel does not make any difference in the meaning of words; on the other hand, before certain consonants (especially the voiced stops [b], [d], [g], [v], and the *th* of *breathe,* transcribed phonetically [ð]), a vowel-sound is automatically longer than elsewhere. In certain other languages, vowel-length makes a difference in the meaning of words, and hence the learner must pay especial attention to the time for which the sound is held, as in Hungarian *bor* [bor] "wine" versus *mód* [mo:d] "manner". This was the case in Latin and Ancient Greek, in both of which languages every vowel could occur short or long, in terms of the actual number of milliseconds for which its pronunciation lasted: e.g. n. sg. nom. Latin *malum* "evil [adjective]" as opposed to *mālum* "apple", or Ancient Greek φονή *phoné* "murder" versus φωνή *phōné* "voice". The contrast between long and short can be relevant on the grammatical level, too; thus, in Latin, the only difference between the nominative singular and the ablative singular of the first declension is in the length of the final vowel: *puella* "the girl" versus *puellā* "from the girl".

Failure to inculcate this difference is one of the major faults of our teaching of Latin.[17]

The consonant sounds of English are:

IPA Symbol	Example	IPA Symbol	Example
[p]	*pop* ['pap]	[s]	*sat* ['sæt]
[t]	*tut* ['tʌt]	[z]	*zeal* ['zil]
[k]	*kick* ['kɪk]	[ʃ], [š][18]	*shop* ['ʃap] or ['šap]
[b]	*bib* ['bɪb]	[ʒ], [ž]	*azure* ['æʒər], ['æžər]
[d]	*did* ['dɪd]	[m]	*mom* ['mam]
[g]	*get* ['gɛt]	[n]	*nun* ['nʌn]
[f]	*fife* ['faif]	[ŋ]	*sing* ['sɪŋ]
[v]	*vet* ['vɛt]	[l]	*lull* ['lʌł]
[θ]	*thick* ['θɪk]	[r]	*rear* ['rir]
[ð]	*this* ['ðɪs]	[h]	*hod* ['had]

In addition to these, there is the "catch in the throat" or glottal stop, made by shutting off the breath brusquely in the larynx; it does not serve to keep any words apart, but appears between vowels, especially in interjections like our *uh-uh* meaning "no": symbol [ʔ].

The first three consonants listed above are, in English, pronounced with a strong puff of breath after them (are *aspirated*) when they come immediately before a stressed vowel, as in the three examples given. Elsewhere, they are not so likely to be aspirated, and particularly not after *s*, as in *spin, stop, skin*. In other languages, this aspiration may not be present at all, as in the Romance family; in still others, it may make a difference in the meaning of words, as in Hindi, with a contrast like that between /kha:/ "Eat!" and m. /ka:/ "of, concerning". In either case, the speaker of English must learn to control the

[17]Since Ancient Greek and Latin versification also depended on the difference between short and long vowels and syllables, no understanding or aesthetic appreciation of Greek or Latin verse can be gained unless it is read with careful attention to length.

[18]Some scholars prefer to use the symbol [ʃ] for the first sound of English *shop*, others prefer [š]; similarly, some prefer [ʒ] and some [ž] for the consonant represented by *z* in *azure*. In each of these pairs, neither symbol is better or worse than the other; their use is wholly a matter of typographical convenience.

aspiration after [p t k] (and, on occasion, also after [b d g]), either eliminating it entirely or making it only when necessary to distinguish one word from another.

The sounds [t d n] are pronounced, in English, with the tip of the tongue raised against the upper gum-ridge; since the gum-ridge is, in Latin, called the *alveolum*, these sounds are termed *alveolar*. In the Romance family and many other languages, however, the corresponding sounds are pronounced with the tip of the tongue against the inside of the upper front teeth—instead of being alveolar, they are *dental* sounds. Many languages, especially those of India, have a contrast between the dental series of sounds and another series pronounced farther back in the mouth, usually with the tip of the tongue curled up and back against the roof of the mouth, in what is known as *retroflex* articulation, as in Telugu /oḍḍu/ "to the river bank" (as opposed to, say, /oddu/ "One doesn't want it". The English alveolars are likely to be interpreted, by speakers of Telugu and other Indian languages, as retroflex consonants. The English learner of one of these languages must learn to use dental, rather than alveolar, articulation for [t d n] and to distinguish sharply between dental and retroflex consonants.

Our English [l] and [r] are pronounced in a fashion which is, from the point of view of most of the world's languages, rather unusual. The basic characteristic of all [l]-like sounds is that they are pronounced with the air from the lungs going out over one or both sides of the tongue; from this fact, they are called *lateral*. For most speakers of American English, the lateral [l] is made with the tip of the tongue raised up against the inside front teeth, in dental position, only at the beginning of a syllable, as in *look* ['lʊk] or *light* ['lait]. At the end of a syllable, our *l* is made with the top of the tongue raised up in the back of the mouth, against the back of the palate or the velum; from this fact, it is called a *velar lateral*, and in IPA it has a special symbol [ɫ], used in transcribing such words as *lull* ['lʌɫ], *bill* ['bɪɫ], and *full* ['fʊɫ]. Some kinds of English (including my native variety) have only the velar [ɫ] in all positions, as in *lily* ['ɫɪɫi] or *look* ['ɫʊk].

The velar lateral is absent from many languages, e.g. the Romance languages and German, and speakers of English must learn to avoid it, or else confusion may arise, as when I once carried on a two hours' conversation with some Germans, pronouncing German *Filme* "films" as ['fɪɫmə], which they interpreted as equivalent to their *Firma* "[business] firm" ['fɪʀmə], with resultant total misunderstanding. In various Slavic languages, there is a contrast between the dental lateral [l] and the velar lateral [ɫ], as in Polish *lata* "summer" and *łata* "patch"; here again, the native speaker of English must learn to keep the two apart.

A similar situation prevails with respect to our *r*-sound, which most of us make with a peculiar articulation, bunching the top of the tongue up in the back of the mouth and forcing the air out over it. Very few other languages have this kind of *r*-sound, and hence its use is one of the most easily noticeable characteristics of a thick American accent. In the majority of European languages, the sound represented by the letter *r* is dental, made with a single flap of the tip of the tongue against the upper front teeth, as in Italian or Spanish *caro* "dear". This sound is so close to the American pronounciation of [t] and [d] between vowels that, say, this Italian or Spanish word sounds to us like "coddo"; conversely, if we use our American-style tongue-tip-flap to correspond to the dental stops [t] and [d] in other languages, their speakers will think we have pronounced [r] (e.g. in the name *Cato*). Another widespread pronunciation of *r* is a trill (a series of flaps) made, as in gargling, with the uvula (the tip of the velum) hanging loose and being caused to vibrate by the passing air-stream, "flapping in the breeze" as it were: symbol [ʀ], as in German *rein* ['ʀain] "pure". Some languages have a contrast between a single flap [r] and a lengthened, trilled [r:], as in Italian and Spanish, with such pairs of words as *caro* ['karo] "dear" as opposed to *carro* ['kar:o] "cart".

Spanish has a distinction of length, in its consonant-system, only between [r] and [r:], as just mentioned; but in other languages, notably Italian, there is a much more extensive contrast in consonant-length. Thus, Italian *fato* ['fa:to] "fate" is distinguished from *fatto* ['fat:o] "done"

only by the length of the consonant (and by the difference in length of the stressed vowel-sound, which is an automatic consequence of the difference in the length of the following consonant. In Telugu (a language of southern India), /ka:lu/ is "[one] leg", and /ka:llu/ is "legs". In English, on the other hand, we have no differences in consonant-length on the level of the individual word, all our consonants being short; the only position in which we have double or long consonants is across the boundaries of words in compounds, as in *comb-maker* ['kom,mekər] or *night-time* ['nait,taim]. We must therefore be especially on our guard against carrying over our English habit of pronouncing all consonants as short into languages like Italian or Telugu, which have a difference between long and short consonants, and in which many words are kept apart by this difference.

The glottal stop, such as we have in our negative interjection usually written "uh-uh" (transcribed phonemically ['ʌʔʌ], with the mark [ʔ] standing for the glottal stop), is not significant in English, but is in some other languages. We often insert a non-significant glottal stop between two adjacent vowel-sounds, as in *react* [ˌri'ʔækt] or *coercion* [ˌko'ʔɹʃən]. Such an insertion of a glottal stop is another characteristic of a thick American accent in a Romance language, and the speaker of English should learn to avoid it in such a French word as *réagir* [reaʒiɹ] "to react", Italian *reagire* [rea'dʒi:re], or Spanish *meaja* [me'aha] "crumb".

In addition to the individual vowel- and consonant-sounds, there are certain aspects of pronunciation which affect longer stretches of speech: syllables, whole words, and complete utterances. In the utterance of syllables, our English habits are quite different from those of many (perhaps most) other speakers throughout the world. Every language has syllables; but the way of dividing them is different from one language to the next, especially with regard to the position of a single consonant-sound between two vowels. The boundary between two syllables falls (as has been demonstrated by experimental measurement) right in the middle of a consonant-sound that is between

the two, in English. If we use the symbol [-] to stand for the syllable-division, and wish to indicate such a division in the phonetic transcription of a word like *native* ['netɪv], we cannot transcribe it as either ['ne-tɪv] or ['net-ɪv]; neither of these transcriptions is accurate, because actually the division falls in the middle of the time during which we are articulating the sound [t], and we would have to resort to some artificial device like transcribing ['netɪv]. This situation is at the root of the difficulty we have in making syllable-divisions in English spelling: do we divide this word as *na-tive* or at *nat-ive*? "Authorities" such as dictionaries differ, and inevitably so, since the language itself gives us no assistance in solving the problem, and any decision we reach in this matter will inevitably be arbitrary. In many other languages, however, the division of syllables is much sharper, and especially a single consonant between two vowels belongs, in both pronunciation and spelling, with the following vowel, as in French *été* "summer" (pronounced [e'te] and divided *é-té*).

In English we have a fairly complicated pattern of stresses, with some syllables very heavily stressed, others unstressed, and still others receiving an intermediate degree of stress: the three types of stress are exemplified in a word like *elevator* ['ɛlə,vetər] (first syllable strongly stressed, third syllable with intermediate stress, and second and fourth with weak stress). Many other languages have less complicated stress-systems, ranging all the way down to French, where stress plays a very slight rôle in the economy of the language: each syllable is stressed quite lightly, except that the last syllable of a breath-group has a somewhat stronger stress than the others. Here again, excessive use of stress is part of an American accent, and to be avoided if possible. Furthermore, in the Romance languages and many others, the syllables follow each other in a steady, even flow, the unstressed ones receiving just as much time as the stressed ones, in what is known as *syllable-timed* rhythm. This situation contrasts strongly with that prevailing in English and the other Germanic languages, whose rhythm involves an equal amount of time

elapsing between one stressed syllable and the next, no matter how many or how few unstressed syllables may come in between. Thus, if we say "The téacher cáme" and "The téacher is the one who cáme" in English, the one unstressed syllable *er* in the first sentence receives just as much time as the five unstressed syllables *er is the one who* in the second. The effect of this kind of rhythm (known as *stress-timed*) is that of an extremely irregular hippety-hop, in contrast to the rapid machine-gun-like effect of a syllable-timed language like French, Spanish, or Italian. Speakers of English must beware of carrying over their stress-timed rhythm into a syllable-timed language.

The rise and fall of the pitch-level, in the pronunciation of a sentence, known as *intonation*, varies greatly, not only from one language to the next, but even from one dialect to the next (e.g. as between American English and British English). American English intonation is characterized especially by a relatively narrow range of variation in pitch (hence the notion that Britishers have of Americans, that the latter "talk in a monotone") and by an all-pervasive habit of sliding in pitch, not only between two successive syllables, but even during the pronunciation of each syllable. (In this respect, rock-and-roll songs and the less inhibited gospel-hymns are closer to normal American intonation-patterns than any other manifestations of our musical life.) Our habits of intonation are the ones we learn earliest when we are children (before we acquire any distinctive consonant or vowel phonemes or any individual words), and hence are the ones we are least aware of on an analytical level; yet other people judge us by our intonation more than by almost any other single feature of our linguistic behavior. It behooves us, therefore, to bring our native habits of intonation up to the level of awareness as soon as possible, and to prepare to give them up when talking the target-language even before we make adjustments in any other respect. It may seem to us "sissified" to make the range of our intonation wider, or "pedantic" to keep the pitch level during the pronunciation of each syllable; but we must remember that, if we do not

adapt ourselves in such respects as these, our hearers are likely to form equally or even more uncomplimentary judgments of us ("unimaginative", "monotonous", "boring", "rude", "impudent", "aggressive", etc.) on the basis of our uncorrected intonation-patterns.

Of even wider range than intonation is the over-all way in which we hold our organs of speech during the time we are actively talking and also while we are silent; this is known as the *basis of articulation*. Speakers of American English normally keep their facial muscles quite lax while speaking, but their throat-muscles are quite tense (the farther west one goes in the United States, the tenser they are). When passing from one syllable to the next, we usually make a very lax transition (a fact which is at the root of the indeterminacy in syllabification discussed on p. 92). While not speaking, we tend to keep the tops of our tongues somewhat raised in the center of the mouth; hence, when we simply open our mouths and make an indeterminate sound (as when expressing hesitation) we produce the vowel-sound [ʌ], saying "uh . . . uh . . . uh". In other languages, other articulation-habits may prevail. Speakers of most continental European languages, for instance, keep their facial muscles quite tense, even when not speaking, but their throat-muscles are relaxed. They make the transition from one syllable to the next very sharply; and they keep the top of the tongue, even in repose, rather in the front of the mouth, so that their hesitation-vowel is [ɛ] "eh . . . eh . . . eh". In many languages of India, which have whole series of retroflexed consonants (cf. p. 89), the tongue is normally kept rather retracted from the front of the mouth and curled up at the tip; this basis of articulation produces, to our ears, an effect of over-all backing of every sound.

So far we have said nothing concerning orthography, because the conventional spelling of any language, no matter how useful and important it may be in practical matters, is not part of the essential structure of the language. The main difficulty which faces us speakers of English as a result of our orthographical habits is that we are so ac-

customed to a considerable degree of irregularity in spelling, i.e. to a looseness in "fit" (correspondence) between sounds and letters, that we are thereby rendered unable to grasp a situation in which the fit is tighter. In Spanish, German, Italian, and many other orthographies, the fit between pronunciation and spelling is so close that, in general, the question "How do you spell it?" almost never arises. If one known how to pronounce a word in (say) German, one normally knows also how to spell it, and vice-versa. In the orthographies of the languages mentioned, the principles of spelling are, by and large, quite simple, so that any normal speaker learns the complete spelling-system by the end of the second grade (in fact, failure to grasp the basis of the orthography by that stage is virtually *prima facie* evidence of subnormal mentality in Germany, Italy, etc.). For us, as native readers and writers of English, such a situation is even more incomprehensible because, in our elementary schooling, we are not normally taught to listen carefully to the way words are spoken, in order to predict spelling on the basis of pronunciation. We must therefore make an especial effort to keep our ears open and to perceive the basis on which sounds and spelling are correlated in the target-language, so that we can learn to spell automatically. Note that this involves, not the effort of visual memory to which we have been conditioned in the English-writing world, but a different kind of effort, first to get our pronunciation-habits in the target-language accurate, and then to discover what these habits imply with regard to its conventional orthography. If we do not do this, we are condemned to flounder endlessly with respect to both speaking and writing in the target-language.

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Chapter 15. Forms

The inflectional structure of English is, in some respects, quite simple, or at least not as complex as that of many European and non-European languages. As a result, speakers of English are often taken aback when they come up against the multiplicity of forms of, say, Latin, German, or Russian. Matters are complicated by the fact that our grammar-books use terms and furnish analyses of English structure which are far from accurate, and which, therefore, do not furnish us an adequate basis for comparing the functioning of the target-language with that of English. We must realize, also, that many English forms which seem to be parallel to those of other languages in their structure turn out to be quite different in their meaning.

The categories which appear in the inflection of English are relatively few: number (singular and plural) in nouns, pronouns, and verbs; tense in verbs; and case only in pronouns. Even the two numbers are not wholly what they seem: in English, the singular refers, normally, to only one of whatever is referred to, but the so-called "plural" is simply not limited to one. It usually refers to more than one, but on occasion is a convenient way of referring to "either one or more than one" (as when a telephone-operator says, after ringing a long time, "They don't answer"). We have no separate way, in English, of referring to an unspecified actor, except for the rather learnèd use of *one* (as in *Where can one get tickets for the opera?*); hence we use *they* as one of our various forms for an indefinite actor-reference of this type (*How do they say it in Chinese?*). Our other forms for such indefinite actor-reference are *we* (*We don't eat spinach for breakfast*) and *you* (normally unstressed, [jə], as in *What do you do in a case like that?*). Our pronouns have distinctions of case, e.g. *I* versus *me, he* versus *him, she* versus *her, they* versus *them;* but, although the grammar-books tells us that English nouns have a case-system (possessive *man's* versus non-possessive *man*), the possessive suffix written *-'s* is not

really a case-ending.[19] This is why we are not really prepared, by the structure of our own language, to deal with extensive variation in the case-forms of nouns and adjectives, such as we find in Latin, Ancient Greek, Russian, or German.

In verbs, likewise, variation in form is much less extensive in English than in many other languages, and we must be prepared to find a great many separate inflectional verb-forms to express what we normally refer to by combinations of PRONOUN + VERB or of VERBAL AUXILIARY + MAIN VERB. The existence of individually differentiated verb-forms referring to different persons and numbers is so usual in most European languages that English is rather unusual in not having them.[20] The closest we have in English to a set of inflectional forms in a verb-tense is the present of *be:*

Person	Singular	*Plural*
1st	*am*	
2nd	*art*	*are*
3rd	*is*	

Since *thou art* is by now archaic, and in present-day usage *you are* is both singular and plural in meaning, such symmetry as remains in this paradigm has been even further reduced.

In this connection, we must make a sharper distinction between single forms and phrases (i.e. combinations of forms) than is usually done in discussing the structure of English and other languages. Most grammar-books refer, particularly when taking up the structure of the English verb, to both single forms like *ate* and phrases like *has*

[19] In technical terms, the English possessive suffix is a bound form, not on the inflectional, but on the phrasal level, as shown by the wide-spread occurrence of such possessive phrases as *the man I was telling you about yesterday's daughter*. Cf. Hall, 1964a, Chapter 22.

[20] Old English had much larger inflectional sets of noun-forms with case-endings and verb-forms with person- and number-endings, but these distinctions have almost all been lost in the thousand years since King Alfred's time.

eaten as "tenses," although there is a fundamental difference between them. Even if we wish to retain the term "tenses" for both *ate* and *has eaten*, it is best to refer to the former as a *simple* tense (the past) and the latter as a *compound* tense, since it consists of two forms, a main verb in one form or another (in this case the past participle) and an auxiliary like *have*. It is definitely preferable, however, to avoid entirely the term *tense* as applied to a construction like *has eaten*, since it is not a single form but a phrase. Consideration of simple tense-forms like *ate* belongs in our treatment of inflectional structure; the verb-phrases like *have eaten* and also *is eating, will eat, might eat, is eaten, gets eaten, might have eaten, might have gotten eaten, might have been getting eaten*, etc., all belong under phrase-structure. This distinction will help the learner to avoid making false identifications between the structure of the target-language and English, and the confusions and errors in the target-language that can arise as a result.

English verbs have only two simple tenses: the past (*ate, went, worked*) and the non-past (*eats, goes, works*). The usual term, *present*, for the non-past, is not very good, because it misrepresents the time-reference of this tense quite badly: a non-past tense-form can refer, not only to the present (*Now I eat spaghetti whenever I want to*) but also to the future (*Tomorrow we leave for Chicago*) and to the past (*I get up at seven yesterday, see, and I have my breakfast . . .*, in the so-called *historical present*). The difference between these two tenses, in English, is that the past refers exclusively to action that has taken place before the present, whereas the non-past is not thus restricted in its time-reference. Furthermore, the "present-tense" reference of the non-past is usually, not to something going on right at the very moment of speaking (which is normally indicated by a present progressive phrase such as *I'm eating*), but to something usual or habitual: *I eat* (*whenever I feel like it*). In other languages, the simple tenses may be considerably more numerous than in English, and may have quite different time-reference: e.g. Latin, with its true past, present, and

future tenses, such as *pugnābam* "I was fighting", *pugnō* "I am fighting", and *pugnābō* "I shall be fighting".

The total variation of English verbs is restricted to five[21] different forms: the *simple* or *basic* form (*do*), the third person singular non-past (*does*), the past (*did*), the past participle (*done*), and the form that has *-ing* suffixed to it (*doing*). (For this form cf. foot-note 24, p. 103.) The only English verb that has more forms than these is *be*, with a greater variety both in the non-past (*am, is, are*) and in the past (*was, were*). Our modal auxiliaries have less forms, since they have, in normal usage, only one form in the non-past: e.g. *can, may, might, will, shall, would.* The tense-relationships among the modal auxiliaries have by now become quite obscured, and are obvious only when these forms are used in dependent clauses: compare *He says I may go* with *He said I might go.* In other contexts, the tense-reference of the English modals is likely to be much less clear than that of their equivalents in other languages, and we must be sure of what we mean in English before we try to equate it with a form of the target-language. Thus, *he would eat* may mean "there is a possibility that he might eat" (*He would eat a square meal if he had enough money*), in which case it would correspond to a Romance conditional, such as French *il mangerait*, or to a German phrase consisting of the past subjunctive of *werden* + INFINITIVE: *er würde essen.* It may mean "he used to eat" (*He would eat a square meal every day*), which is the equivalent of a Romance imperfect, like French *il mangeait*, or the German past, *er aß*. With emphatic stress on both subject and verb, it can mean "he is just the kind of person who could be depended on to do the action referred to [especially if it is undesirable]": *Hé wóuld eat all the cabbage and leave none for any-one else.*

Our English adjectives are not variable in form on the inflectional level, and hence we have to pay especial attention to changes in the form of adjectives in many other languages. In English, grammatical gender is manifested

[21]Seven, if one includes the archaic second person singular forms in the non-past (*dost*) and past (*didst*).

(according to traditional analysis) in pronouns,[22] and only covertly (that is, without morphological variation) in nouns and not at all in adjectives. In other Indo-European languages, we may find as many as three grammatical genders (the traditional masculine, feminine, and neuter), and in some non-Indo-European tongues (such as the Bantu languages of central Africa) there are up to twenty grammatical genders, requiring variation in the form, not only of nouns and adjectives, but also of verbs. English adjectives do vary in form, in the comparative and superlative (*bright, brighter, brightest*), but this variation is on the level of word-formation rather than of inflection. This type of formation is present in other Germanic languages, e.g. German (as in *hell* "bright", *heller* "brighter", *hellst-* "brightest") but has very largely been replaced in the Romance languages by phrases formed with adverbs meaning "more", exemplified in French *sage* "wise", *plus sage* "wiser", *le plus sage* "[the] wisest".

The word-formation-patterns of English are quite similar to those of other European languages so far as derivation by means of prefixes and suffixes is concerned, and the learner is not likely to be greatly troubled by differences in this section of structure. One of the major characteristics of present-day English, however, is its extreme facility in forming compounds of various types, especially NOUN + NOUN, as in *text-book, house-boat, type-writer*. This propensity of speakers of English is masked to a considerable extent by our typographical style, which in modern usage is tending ever more away from the indication of such compounding, especially through hyphenation.[23] In consequence, we often fail to recognize the existence and nature of such compounds, particularly when working from a written or printed text in English; there is a marked difference between, say, *a sóund sýstem* "a system which is sound" (= French *un système valide*) and *a sóund-sỳstem* "a system of sounds" (= French *un système de sons*). These English compounds are marked by the fact that they

[22] It is quite doubtful whether this traditional analysis, as applied to English, is at all valid; cf. Hall, 1951.

[23] For a protest against this trend, cf. Hall, 1964b.

have only one full stress, with the originally full stress of one of the two elements reduced to intermediate stress, as in *téxt-bòok* ['tɛkst,bʊk] (full followed by intermediate), or in *òver-cóme* [,ovər'kʌm] (intermediate followed by full). Sometimes there are three or four elements in such a compound, as in *rights workers murder trial* ['raits, wʌrkərz, mʌrdər, traiəl].

English has very few forms, on either the inflectional or the derivational level, which have variants depending on the nature of the sounds or the forms which follow them. About the only instance of this type in English morphology is the indefinite article, with its variation from *a* (before consonant, as in *a book*) to *an* (before vowel, as in *an apple*). This variation is shown in our writing-system, so that it causes us no trouble; but it leaves us unprepared to deal with situations in which there are variations in form that are not shown in spelling (as is extensively the case in French). Extra attention is necessary, therefore, to catch onto a "Now you hear it, now you don't" type of variation like that between French [œ̃] "a, one" (before consonants, as in [œ̃garsõ] "a boy") and [œ̃n] (before vowels, as in [œ̃narbr] "a tree"), both spelled *un: un garçon, un arbre.*

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English morphology: Francis; Fries, 1952; Trager and Smith.

Chapter 16. Syntax

What English lacks in complicated structure of inflectional forms, it makes up for in syntax. The phrases and clauses of English manifest a great variety and subtlety of distinctions, so that the speaker of English must expect to find other languages conveying these meanings in (often) quite different ways.

Our entire syntactic structure, in both clauses and phrases, depends very largely on fixed word-order. Our basic declarative clause-structure involves the order SUB-

JECT + VERB + OBJECT; when a speaker of English hears nonsense-words in this order, this is the way he immediately interprets them. Thus, in *The koobs glormed the squags,* it is the word-order that tells us what performed the action (the *koobs,* whatever they are), what the action was (*glorming*), and what was on the receiving end of the action (the *squags,* whatever a squag may be). Rare it is indeed when (as at the beginning of this sentence) an element of the sentence, other than an adverbial modifier, is out of its normal place. At the opposite extreme is the situation in, say, Latin, where word-order is quite free (cf. Appendix A.1). The speaker of English must, therefore, be especially alive to differences in what is conveyed by word-order, and the material he uses should emphasize such differences. For this reason, elementary Latin grammars which purposely adapt their fabricated Latin to the structure of English (limiting, say, their sentences to the SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT order, as in *Agricola amat puellam* "The farmer loves the girl"), are, in catering to the learners' syntactic structure, not doing their users any good. On the contrary, they are making it harder for the learners to understand the real nature of Latin syntax, by masking it with a false accommodation to that of English.

In other instances, our fixed English word-order contrasts with a word-order in the target-language which, although equally fixed, is different. Here, too, the English speaker will have to break loose from his established habits in order to acquire other automatisms. In German, for instance, the inversion of subject and verb takes place automatically whenever a dependent element of a declarative sentence is in the first position: e.g. *Heute arbeiten wir nicht* "Today work we not", as opposed to *Wir arbeiten heute nicht* "We're not working today". Speakers of English will want to say, wrongly, something like **Heute wir arbeiten nicht,* on the model of English "Today we're not working". Also in German, the verb of a dependent clause automatically goes to the end, as a concomitant feature of the embedding-process: *Er ist gekommen* "He

has come", but *Ich weiß nicht, ob er gekommen ist* "I don't know, whether he has come"; here, too, speakers of English must avoid inaccurate direct translations like **Ich weiß nicht, ob er ist gekommen*. Nor can the speaker of English expect the negative and interrogative transformations of English, using the auxiliary *do*, to correspond to those of other languages: he cannot construct a French sentence like **Fait-il travailler?* on the model of *Does he work?*, where the normal French construction would be *Travaille-t-il?* "Works he?"

Probably the most complicated type of phrase in English is the expansion of the single verb by means of auxiliaries and modifying elements. Our verb-phrases consist of three layers: expansions with one or more auxiliaries; with one or two objects (noun or pronoun); and with "adverbial" modifiers of various types. The auxiliaries have to come in a specific order: first *be* or *get* with past participle, in passive meaning (*he is* [or *gets*] *murdered*); then *be* with the *-ing*-form[24] making a "progressive" phrase (*he is murdering; he is being murdered; he is getting murdered*); then *have* with the past participle, making a "perfect" phrase (*he has murdered; he has been murdering; he has been murdered; he has been getting murdered*); then a modal auxiliary (*he may murder; he may be murdered; he may be getting murdered; he may have been getting murdered*). In other languages, to many of these types of verb-phrases constructed with auxiliaries there may correspond, not similar phrases, but simple tenses. In the Romance languages, the formation with *would*, indicating something that might happen under given conditions, finds its correspondence in the "conditional" tense, e.g. Spanish *haría*, Italian *farebbe*, French *il ferait* "he would do". Note especially that our future "tense" is not really a tense at all (in the sense of being a single verb-form), but simply a phrase

[24] This is a better term to refer to verb-forms like *eating, working, being*, etc., than any of the traditional terms like *present participle, gerund*, or *gerundive*; these latter terms emphasize one syntactic function or another, whereas actually the *-ing*-form of any given verb is one single form which can have a number of different syntactic functions.

consisting of an auxiliary (*will* or *shall*, usually reduced just to *'ll*[25]); here, also, we find in many languages a simple tense, as in Spanish *hará*, Italian *farà*, French *il fera* "he will do". In Latin, the passive is also a single form, as in *amatur* "he is loved"; and to our perfect phrase with *have* + PAST PARTICIPLE, there corresponds in Latin a single form, the *perfective*. The Latin perfective, however, has a quite different meaning from our perfect phrase (cf. below), although it is often translated with an English perfect, as in *dīxī* "I have spoken [= I'm through speaking, I've finished speaking, that's all I have to say]".

The meanings of our verb-phrases are by no means always the same as those to which they are, by our traditional grammars, equated in other languages. The so-called "progressive" phrase (*he is working*) is our normal way of indicating whatever is taking place at a particular point of time; as such, it is equivalent to the simple present of the Romance languages, e.g. Spanish *trabajo*, Italian *lavoro*, French *je travaille* "I'm working", and not to the apparently identical phrases constructed in Spanish with *estar* "to be" + PRESENT PARTICIPLE or in Italian with *essere* "to be" + PRESENT PARTICIPLE (as in Spanish *estoy trabajando*, Italian *sto lavorando* "I'm engaged in working"). Similarly with our so-called "present perfect" phrase, such as *he has worked*, which refers to action that took place in the past but whose effects last up to or affect the present (cf. pp. 97–98). This phrase is not equivalent to, say, German *ich bin gekommen*, which is much closer in meaning to our simple past "I came".

As expansions of any of these types of English verb-phrases just discussed, we find them combined with one or two noun or pronoun objects: e.g. *He saw me; I like her; We gave the boy a dollar; We gave him a dollar; They elected him chairman*. The order of the added elements is, in English, normally quite firmly fixed, and, in case there are two objects, it is their order which tells us their functional meaning. With certain verbs like *choose, elect,*

[25]The old rules about the use of *shall* and *will* in English future phrases, which are still repeated in many grammar-books, are quite devoid of foundation; cf. Fries, 1925.

name, nominate, and also *call, think,* etc., if there are two objects, the first is the direct object and the second tells the status which results from the action, e.g. *He called me a fool* or *They named John moderator.* With other verbs, the first object is always indirect and the second direct.

It is often hard for naïve speakers of English to tell the difference between indirect and direct objects, since there is no clue in the formal structure of the noun or pronoun. The difference resides wholly in the meaning conveyed by the order of the two objects. A practical test for a possible indirect object is to try expanding it by prefixing *to . . .* or *for . . .*; if this is possible, then the object which can be expanded in this way is an indirect object, as in *He gave the boy a dollar → He gave to the boy a dollar,* or *We fixed the girl a nice meal → We fixed for the girl a nice meal.* A test of this sort will aid the speaker of English in deciding whether to use a dative or an accusative in, say, Latin, German, or one of the Romance languages, and will avoid such errors as saying in Spanish **Lo dió un peso* instead of *Le dió un peso* "He gave [to] him a peso". Other languages are likely to have different orders, also, for their direct and indirect object elements: e.g. French *Il me l'a donné* "He gave it to me", but *Il le lui a donné* "He gave it to him". In French, *me* "to me" comes before the third person singular masculine direct object pronoun *l'* (= *le*) "it", but this latter must precede the third person singular indirect object pronoun-form *lui.* Furthermore, French object-elements of this type come before a verb-form if it is not a positive imperative, but after it if it is, as in *Donnez-le-moi* "Give it to me".

Most of the ordinary adverbial modifiers of English do not cause much trouble when compared with those found in the ordinary West European languages, since, despite differences in detail, the general structure of this type of modifier is much the same. The greatest problem comes with the English construction VERB + *to* + VERB, e.g. *I want to rest; He told me to leave; The baby started to cry; I'm trying to concentrate.* Our traditional grammars of English do us a great disservice in this connection by labelling all constructions of *to* + VERB as "infinitives", simply

because the infinitive forms of Latin, the Romance languages, German, etc., are usually translated by *to* + the simple form of the verb in English, e.g. Latin *canĕre* "to sing", and *monĕre* "to warn". In the first place, the Latin (Romance, German) infinitive is a separate form, morphologically speaking, whereas the so-called "infinitive" in English is a combination of a preposition (*to*) with a verbal form, and at best might be labelled "infinitive phrase". Furthermore, the English infinitive phrase by no means always corresponds to a simple infinitive in other languages. In many languages, there are several different types of construction involving VERB + INFINITIVE, depending on what verb is in the main-verb slot: in Spanish, for instance, certain verbs (like *querer* "to want") are followed directly by an infinitive, e.g. *Quiero comer* "I want to eat"; others have to have the preposition *a* before a dependent infinitive, e.g. *empezar* "to begin", as in *Empiezo a comer* "I begin to eat"; and still others take *de* before an infinitive in such constructions, as does *tratar* "to try" in a sentence like *Trato de comer* "I'm trying to eat". Here, as in all similar instances, it is hopeless to take the structure of English as a model for what one is to say in the target-language. Only the inner structure of the latter is a guide, but we must be aware of the features of English that may mislead us through false identifications, such as that of "infinitives" with phrases consisting of *to* + simple verb-form in English.

The other great class of phrasal combinations in English are those which have nouns as their chief elements or *heads*, with various other types of elements (principally adjectives) modifying them. We are accustomed in English to having only the nouns change (showing differences in number) in such phrases, e.g. sg. *the nice girl* versus pl. *the nice girls*. We must be prepared, though, to find in other languages a much more wide-spread requirement of agreement between modifying elements and head in noun-phrases. In the modern Romance languages, this agreement must manifest itself in grammatical gender as well as number: e.g. Spanish *el pájaro rojo* (m. sg. in all three forms) "the red bird", but *la guagua roja* (f. sg., agreeing with

guagua "bus") "the red bus", and the plurals of these two expressions, *los pájaros rojos* "the red birds" and *las guaguas rojas* "the red buses". In such languages as have variations for case in their nouns and adjectives, the agreement extends to case also: thus, in Latin, the phrase *iste furor tuus* "that madness of yours" (with m. *furor* "madness" as head) (Cicero, "First Oration Against Catiline") would show the following variations, as compared with those of *ista avaritia tua* "that greed of yours" (whose head is f. *avaritia* "greed, avarice"):

nominative	*iste furor tuus*	*ista avaritia tua*
genitive ("of . . .")	*istī furōris tuī*	*istae avaritiae tuae*
dative ("to . . .")	*istō furōrī tuō*	*istae avaritiae tuae*
accusative	*istum furōrem tuum*	*istam avaritiam tuam*
ablative ("from . . .")	*istō furōre tuō*	*istā avaritiā tuā*

Prepositions, in English, occur with elements following them, known as their *objects*, as in *on the table, without any excuse, in them, off my hands, before leaving*. English prepositions are not differentiated according to the choice of case to follow them, since a pronoun object of a preposition is always in the objective case (*in them, without me, instead of us*). Where the target-language has a more complicated case-system, however, the learner may find that some prepositions must be followed by one case and other prepositions by another, as an automatic requirement. Thus, in German, such prepositions as *bei* "by, at", *mit* "with", and *von* "of, from" must be followed by the dative, and others such as *durch* "through", *für* "for", and *ohne* "without" must have the accusative, e.g. *mit mir* "with me", but *ohne mich* "without me". Still other German prepositions can take dative or accusative, and the choice of case tells the hearer either that no motion is involved (with the dative), or that motion is involved (with the accusative): thus, *in* + DATIVE has the meaning "in", but *in* + ACCUSA-

TIVE is "into", as in the contrasting pair *in dem Hause* "in the house" and *in das Haus* "into the house".

In the combination of PREPOSITION + VERB-FORM, the choice of verbal form is automatically determined, in English, by the preposition: we use the simple form of the verb after *to* (e.g. *to go, to write*), but the *-ing*-form after all others (e.g. *by going, while writing*). In other languages, different constructions occur: in Latin, a gerundive must be used (*eundō* "by going, in going"), whereas in German the preposition must be followed by *zu* before the infinitive (*ohne zu arbeiten* "without working"), and in the Romance languages normally the infinitive is used after all prepositions (e.g. Italian *senza lavorare*, French *sans travailler*, Spanish *sin trabajar* "without working").

Sometimes we find "prepositions" coming after their objects, as a special type of construction in German (e.g. *meiner Meinung nach* "according to my opinion", with *nach* "after, according to") but as a regular thing in Hungarian, Hebrew, etc. In instances like these, we speak of *postpositions*, of which Hungarian has a score or more, like *alatt* "underneath [position without motion]", *alá* "to underneath", and *alól* "out from underneath": e.g. *A macska ül az asztal alatt* "The cat is sitting under the table", *A macska megy az asztal alá* "The cat goes under the table", and *A macska kijön az asztal alól* "The cat comes out from under the table".

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Chapter 17. Real Life and Imagination

So far, we have been discussing almost wholly the structural aspect of language—sounds, forms, and combinations of forms—and the way in which the structure of the learner's language must be contrasted with that of the target-language in order to minimize the interference of the former with the latter. It is possible to discuss linguistic structure almost "in a void" in this way, because human language seems to constitute a largely separate stratum of behavior, relatively uncorrelated with other aspects of culture. However, as we pointed out earlier (Chapter 8), language derives its meaning and hence its function in our lives from the situations it is used in. If we are to get the most out of working with any foreign language we must know what sort of situations it is used in and how it mirrors its users' way of living and thinking.

It is, of course, preferable to both learn and use the target-language in a real-life situation from the outset—in the environment in which its native speakers use it. The lucky few who have the time and money at their disposal can go and spend one or more years in a foreign land, and, if they apply themselves earnestly and diligently, can in a relatively short period of time acquire quite an extensive command of its language. Once the learner has acquired a certain minimum essential knowledge of the target-language, every speaker he meets contributes to his further experience—if in no other way, by acting as informant during the time in which the learner is in contact with him. At the learner's disposal are opportunities, not only to practise the language itself, but to share the speakers' lives, to see them at work and at play, and to absorb their particular outlook on life.

Most of us, however, cannot afford either time or money for such an ideal language-learning-situation. Even in the most affluent of societies, the great majority of language-learners are not ever going to be able to afford anything more than a quick excursion-trip. Under these circumstances, we must use our imaginations as actively as possible, to substitute for the real-life experience which is, either temporarily or permanently, beyond our reach. We must learn to use and interpret every representation of the life of the foreign country that we can obtain. Most modern text-books supply this need with all kinds of pictures, usually of the country where the target-language is spoken, showing cathedrals, churches, palaces, cities, restaurants, cafés, trains, peasants' houses, the peasants themselves in colorful costumes, and a host of other interest-catching and -holding items. By and large, such illustrations are very helpful, except when they over-emphasize what is archaic or quaint at the expense of a complete view of modern living, or when the publisher tries to substitute slick photography for real merit in the text itself.

Discussions of the foreign culture, written in English, are also helpful, particularly at the early stages of language-learning, when the student has not yet acquired a sufficient command of the language to read even elementary expository prose. Yet there is a grave danger inherent in any discussion—written or oral—carried on in the learner's language *about* the target-language, whether it involves linguistic structure, culture, literature, art, music, or any other topic. Any such use of the learner's language beyond the minimum strictly necessary for immediate practical purposes (e.g. grammatical analysis) simply distracts his attention from the main object, the acquisition of the target-language itself. On the whole, it is better to avoid anything more than the most rudimentary comments on the foreign culture while acquiring the basic elements of the language. Such comments should be introduced primarily to avoid misunderstandings, e.g. when the word *bar* is introduced: so as to enlighten the learner (as well as to avoid complaints from outraged Prohibitionists), it is a good idea to explain in a foot-note that, in Italy, a *bar* is

primarily a coffee-stand, whereas in Sweden it is a cafeteria.

As soon as the learner has gotten far enough along in the foreign language to have a firm command of its phonology and at least some fundamental morphological and syntactical features, he should start reading selected passages in the target-language. His reading will be, under the normal circumstances of language-learning, his chief source of knowledge concerning the foreign culture, and as such it is a highly important aspect of the entire learning-process. It is often asserted by superficial critics of the "linguistic approach" to language-learning that, because it stresses an oral-auditory basis at the out-set, it is inherently hostile to reading and opposed to all cultural aims. Leaving aside for the moment any debates over the narrow and broad meanings of "culture", we may safely say that any such criticism is quite ill founded. The oral-auditory approach does not in any way disregard reading, nor does it eliminate it from the total process of language-learning. It does, however, emphasize the necessity of a sound basis for reading-ability, built up in a prior command of the phonology and grammar of the target-language, so that when the learner comes to read, he can go ahead at an accelerated pace, with at least something of the same basis for his reading that a native speaker has. This necessity was recognized by the original proponents of the "reading-approach";[26] but their followers, with less understanding of the nature of language, used the emphasis on "rapid reading" simply as an excuse to disregard any prior training in the fundamentals of hearing and speaking.

The point at which reading should begin will inevitably differ according to the nature of the orthographic system normally used with the target-language. If its conventional spelling is straight-forward and wholly (or nearly wholly) phonemically based, reading can start very soon indeed, after the first twenty-five or thirty contact-hours; such an early start may be made with languages like German, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian, or Finnish. If, however, the conventional spelling is more difficult (either because the

[26] Cf. Coleman.

"fit" between sounds and letters is quite imperfect, as in French or English orthography, or because the characters are different from ours, as with Russian or Hindi), the start of reading had better be postponed until (say) forty or fifty contact-hours have been spent on mastering the language itself. If the orthography is very difficult and shows little or no correlation with the language as spoken (e.g. Chinese or Japanese), extensive reading will have to await extensive familiarity with the language (even though some start may be made on using the writing-system at a relatively early stage).

As in music, the selections chosen for reading should be carefully graded, especially at the out-set. Nothing is gained by plunging into a morass of difficulties at the very start, a difficult play by Corneille or a long poem by Goethe for example, simply because of the literary merit of these authors, any more than a beginner on the violin is benefitted by starting on the Brahms concerto. For the more familiar languages, graded readers have been developed which can be used for introducing techniques of rapid reading. Such graded texts are very helpful, provided a certain amount of care is exercised in their use. The learner should not take too much time over any given assignment, because otherwise his interest flags and boredom sets in very soon. To preserve simplicity, some readers keep their intellectual level lower than necessary. For a time in the 1930's, it used to be thought that the vocabulary of elementary foreign-language readers ought to be strictly limited; extensive word-counts and frequency-lists were prepared, and some authors of graded readers prided themselves on restricting the number of words they used. By now, it has been realized that, although too much vocabulary should not be piled on, it is also harmful to go to the opposite extreme and keep the learner back in his acquisition of new vocabulary. Cognates (e.g. English *constitution* = French *constitution*, Spanish *constitución*, Italian *costituzione*) can be used extensively to expand the elementary reading-vocabulary, and the learner should be encouraged to guess at the meaning of words from their contexts.

This matter of guessing has been the cause of great

misapprehensions on the part of language-teachers. Taking their cue from other types of subject-matter, such as history (the Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776, not 1775 or 1777) and chemistry (it makes a difference what elements make up a molecule—a mistake may even result in your getting blown up!), teachers of foreign languages have considered absolute and immediate accuracy of understanding and translation as an ideal to be sought for from the beginning of one's work on a language. This attitude has resulted in the learner's being held to exact and complete translations, thereby slowing down his rate of learning and, often, killing his interest. Heretical though it may seem to say so, word-for-word accuracy in translation is not only unessential, it is, especially at the early stages of reading, harmful to progress and maintenance of interest. What a learner needs is, not to get dictionary-correct translations, but to find out, in any given passage which he does not fully understand, how to make an intelligent guess and then proceed as fast as possible to the next passage. After all, we conduct most of our ordinary living on the basis of intelligent guesses (including the interpretation of unfamiliar words in our native language), and we need to learn to do like-wise in a foreign language.

The way to learn how to guess intelligently as to the meaning of a new word is to note the context in which it occurs, get as much as possible about the word's meaning out of that context, store the item in one's memory for future attention, be on the look-out for further occurrences, and narrow down the meaning through careful observance of its context whenever it is met on later occasions, until its meaning has finally been delimited. In a certain Hungarian novel (*A Budapesti Kaland* = *"The Budapest Adventure"*, by F. Körmendi), the word *halánték* occurs three times, on the basis of which its meaning can be successively narrowed down and determined:

1. Towards the beginning of the story, the hero is returning from the Italian front in 1916, and is very weary; his *halánték* hurts. Obviously it is some part of the body; one can eliminate from consideration those parts of the

body whose names one already knows (e.g. *fej* "he[illegible]", *kéz* "hand", *láb* "leg, foot").

2. In the middle of the story, some-one is very surprised, and claps his hand to his *halánték*. This restricts the word to some part of the body which is easily reached by the hand and which one usually strikes in expressing surprise: probably part of the head (cheek? temple? forehead?), but possibly part of the chest or leg.

3. At the end, the hero commits suicide, by cocking a loaded revolver and putting it to his right *halánték*. The meaning is now obvious and there is no need of looking it up in a dictionary.

Advantages of this approach to learning the meaning of new words are: (1) It follows the normal way in which anybody finds out the significance of an unfamiliar phenomenon (linguistic or other); (2) It fixes the word's meaning very firmly in mind, far more so than if the learner had simply gone to a dictionary, looked it up, said to nimself, "Oh, yes, that's what it means"—and forgotten it as soon as his attention was occupied with another word. Of course, one has to use one's brain in remembering a constantly changing batch of semi-familiar items, and one has to be alert to observe new occurrences and any light they may cast on meaning. Making one's own dictionary as one goes along is a helpful device: 3 x 5 cards (not slips of paper, which flutter away easily and do not stand upright) in a box, arranged alphabetically, are useful to write words and their meanings on; the work of writing them down and arranging them alphabetically helps to fix them in one's memory. On the other hand, scribbling English translations between the lines in a foreign-language text is worse than useless; such jottings prove undecipherable when needed for later use (e.g. translating in class) and short-circuit any effective learning-process. The learner should read as widely as possible, and should go ahead as fast as he can, even when this involves leaving a half-understood passage behind, to be returned to later, bringing the insights of further experience in the language.

Songs, proverbs, short poems, and games are much more widely used in some language-fields than in others.

They have been more or less traditional in German, but teachers of the Romance languages have tended to look down on them as unintellectual and fit only for use in elementary schools. In fact, however, they are quite helpful at all age-levels. The memorization involved is a further aid in building up, inside the learner's head, a stock of language-patterns. Poetry, if pronounced accurately (and nowadays there is no excuse for poor recitation of poetry in any language, with the large number of diction-records that are available), helps to grasp the prosodic system of the language; and songs always bear some relation to its intonational patterns. Games are perhaps more useful at the intermediate level, when the learners already have a certain stock of structural patterns and vocabulary, and can use the games for extending these further.

Literary material, provided its structural patterns and vocabulary are simple enough, can be introduced from a very early stage; there is absolutely no need of restricting one's reading to semantically thin or empty material. However, at the elementary and intermediate levels, the main function of literary readings is to introduce the learner to the special characteristics of the variety of the language used in more or less formal, belletristic writing. In every culture, non-literate as well as literate, there is a special style for literary productions, differing in one respect or another from every-day speech, though based on this latter. Hence, if we are to get the most out of a foreign literature, we must pay particular attention to the type of language in which it is written, before we can take the artistic medium (in this case, the linguistic form) for granted and concentrate wholly on the meanings conveyed by the author. This can be done only at the advanced level, after (say) 270 or so contact-hours in the case of the familiar West European languages.[27] As W. F. Twaddell has put it:

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[27] This number of contact-hours may at first seem staggering; but it represents only six semesters of college-level language-work, at three hours per week, fifteen weeks per semester; in general, our college-students are hardly competent to read really fluently and to concentrate on literary content much before they have had six semesters' work (or its equivalent before coming to college).

The range of possible noises that homo loquens can produce is ultimately conditioned by the structure of the human vocal apparatus and hearing apparatus. Within these physiological limitations, the usage of a community imposes further restrictions: each language, each dialect has its phonemic structure, and only what is within that structure is possible for the speakers and listeners of the language or dialect. And within the limits of structure imposed by the community, the individual speaker makes his choices. He who speaks and writes lives his social life along the network of his community's habits and his own choice among those habits. He sees his choice as free and ignores the limitations. The beginning learner of a language sees that the choices are not free, and that is worth seeing. The advanced learner of a language comes to ignore the limitations and move about among them comfortably, so that the real choices become the only choices he sees. And that is a skill of great value.[29]

The ultimate values to be derived from studying the literature of a foreign language are both belletristic and cultural. Literary values, taken in and for themselves, are relative and difficult to pin down. They inevitably vary, not only from one culture to another, but from one social class to another (what is elegant literature for one group, e.g. sentimental novels about doctors and nurses, may be considered cheap and vulgar by another group) and from one individual to another—in fact, they can vary for the same individual according to his age and even his passing mood. Aesthetic values do exist, however, and constitute an important part of literary study, even though they are far from being absolute or, in the last analysis, teachable on an objective plane. Of fully as much importance as the aesthetics of literary study, however, are its cultural implications: the insight which the reader gains in a different way of life from his own. He learns that, along with another language and semantic orientation towards the world, there always goes another psychology and another set of norms for behavior. The "normal" behavior for, say, Rodrigue and Chimène in Corneille's *Le Cid* (1636), when the two are set against each other by Rodrigue having to kill Chimène's father in a duel of honor, is quite different from these mediaeval Spanish lovers as re-interpreted by a seventeenth-century French poet from what it would be for two twentieth-century Americans. Litera-

[29]Twaddell, 80–81.

ture is one of the best channels through which to convey the principle of cultural relativity—the fact that, in human societies throughout the world, behavior is not and must not be expected to be the same, but is, in each community, regulated by its own internal principles.

To date we have not discussed translation, either from the target-language to the learner's language or vice-versa. It is customary to insist on translation-exercises from the very out-set of most elementary language-courses, putting simple (and often simple-minded) sentences from each language into the other. At that level, such work is useful only as an exercise in penmanship and spelling. By and large, it is better to postpone detailed work in translation until the learner is at a stage where he can benefit by the analytical work of equating a construction, a word, an idiom in one language with something different in another; and he cannot be said to have reached this stage until he has considerably more than a nodding acquaintance with the structure and vocabulary of the target-language. At the intermediate level, the learner can practise translating from the target-language into his own, with particular attention to accurate rendering of structural differences and shades of meaning, such as that between, say, German *eventuell* "perhaps, possibly" and English *eventually* "in the long run, ultimately". Translation in the other direction can come soon afterwards, but at first it must be based on material of the target-language which the learner has already covered (i.e. without introducing unfamiliar constructions or words). Only at the advanced level can the learner proceed to taking a literary work in his own language and translating it carefully into the target-language (a very difficult, but very rewarding task), and then, eventually and as the last stage in his approach to the target-language, writing compositions of his own. Even then, there is little likelihood that the ordinary language-learner will become another Joseph Conrad; but there is, under normal circumstances, no reason why we should expect him to do so.

It goes almost without saying that, at the advanced as well as at the elementary and intermediate levels, this type

of work should be carried on in the target-language as much as possible. Even grammatical explanations, which at the elementary level it is a waste of time to give in the target-language (how can we expect any-one to understand an analysis of a language given in the very language which he does not yet know and is trying to get started in?), can be transferred to the foreign language at the intermediate level. For literary work, our ultimate aim is for the learner to acquire as much as possible of the same out-look and understanding that the modern native speaker has—coupled with the further Archimedic perspective that the non-native speaker may derive through approaching the works from a different cultural and linguistic perspective. This can best be done by having, as teacher or guide in this type of study, only some-one who has a really thorough native or quasi-native command of the target-language, and by discussing it in that language, with only as much reference to the learner's language as is necessary to clear up any difficulties.

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Chapter 18. Audio-Visual Aids, Realia, and Activities

It is possible to acquire an excellent command of a foreign language, simply by practising as hard as possible on all aspects of its manifestations, in the usage of a native speaker and in written texts, and by using one's imagination to visualize what one is talking and reading about. Naturally, however, the imagination can frequently go wrong, simply through lack of sufficient information, as in the case of the small-town American girl who, on reading of the mobs throwing up street-barricades during the French Revolution, asked "But why didn't they just run around through the back yards?" It is best to supplement the information gained through language-channels by as

much further material as possible, to increase the accuracy of one's auditory data and to utilize other senses, particularly that of sight, for acquiring back-ground knowledge.

Before the development of recording devices, if no native speaker of the target-language was available, descriptions (more or less accurate) of its pronunciation were all that a learner had to go on. Even with earlier recording techniques (e.g. 78–r.p.m. records), considerable effort was made, especially by various commercial undertakings, to provide material for direct listening and imitation. Since the Second World War, 33–r.p.m. records and especially tapes have made such material widely and cheaply accessible; most modern text-books have tapes, records, or both available for use with them. Nowadays, there is no excuse for the physical absence of a native speaker being used to justify neglect or opposition to the oral-auditory approach.

Auditory materials on tapes or records are among the best means for extending and enriching one's language-experience. They can be used on the learner's personal machine, at any time that he or she has free; in this way, the learner is not tied down to any kind of schedule. In the school-context, the use of such materials has also been widely institutionalized in the language-laboratory. In the laboratory, a large number of learners can be accommodated at the same time; given a complicated enough installation, a number of different languages and of different levels within each language can be serviced; and the content of the work is directly subject to control by those in charge of the courses. If properly planned, a laboratory is a very helpful adjunct to any language-program, on any level from junior high-school through college. If misused, however, it can be nothing but a waste of money and, in fact, can do harm rather than good.

The main function of the language-laboratory is to take over those aspects of the drill-work which are repetitive, mechanical, and do not absolutely require the presence of a live speaker, thus sparing the time and energy of this latter for more essential work. Ordinarily, if a native or quasi-native speaker is available, the learners' first contact with each new batch of basic sentences or review-dialogues

should be through direct imitation of the drill-master in person. This is desirable because (1) not even the best tape-recording has yet achieved completely faithful reproduction of every finest detail of sound as heard first-hand by the human ear; (2) even if this were the case, there are other aspects of behavior that accompany speech which must be observed directly—how the drill-master holds the muscles of his or her face, the movements he or she makes with the hand and the rest of the body, the gestures that accompany speech, and so forth; and (3) most important of all, a machine cannot react to the learners' behavior, correct mistakes or show approval, or adapt itself to special circumstances (e.g. by perceiving what needs extra emphasis and repeating as necessary). When the first contact with the material has been made, however, the extra repetitions necessary to fix it firmly in the learners' memory can be entrusted to the machine. A very useful adjunct to any language-laboratory is a device permitting the supervisor to listen in on the work that any student is doing, so as to check up on its quality and, if necessary, to interrupt and correct the mistakes before they become ingrained in the learner's habits.

Opinions differ about the usefulness of a self-recording device which permits the learner to hear the voice on the tape, then to speak his or her imitation of what has just been said, while both the voice from the tape and the learner's imitation are being recorded on another track; the learner then plays back this last-mentioned recording, which, in theory, permits him or her to see how good (or poor) the imitation has been. According to some, this self-observation should produce an awareness of the mistakes that the learner is making, and a desire to improve. According to others, this kind of awareness is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve at the initial stages, and use of such a self-recording device is wasteful (if not actively harmful) until the intermediate level has been reached. The truth is probably somewhere in between these two extremes. The usefulness of listening to oneself depends to a considerable extent on pre-training in which the learner becomes aware, first of how his or her voice actu-

ally sounds when recorded (many of us find it hard to accept the authenticity of our own voices on disc or tape), and then of what to listen for in the way of degrees of accuracy in imitation. If a certain amount of attention is given to these problems at the out-set, there is no reason why self-recording should not be used quite early.

Needless to say, an intelligent choice must be made in the material to be put on tape and imitated. If tapes are not available from the publishers of the text being used, they can of course be made *ad hoc;* but care must be exercised in the choice of speaker and of material. There is no excuse for a non-native teacher trying to "fake" it if he or she has not had extensive training in the phonology of the target-language; it is far better to get a native speaker to make the tapes, or else not make them at all. Horror-stories circulate (one cannot tell how trust-worthy they are) of conservatively oriented teachers having spoken sets of verb-forms ("I am, you are, he is . . .") onto tapes, or having read long paragraphs of descriptive prose, for their students, not to imitate, but just to listen to, before they have had any practice in speaking. The main purpose of a language-laboratory is to give the learner extra practice in active command of the language; if it is not used for this purpose, it becomes mere hard-ware and gadgetry, serving no useful end.

Moving pictures with sound-tracks in the foreign language, and film-strips to accompany spoken records or tapes, are also very helpful audio-visual aids. Film-strips can consist of either photographs or drawings; the latter are, in some series, quite imaginatively done, and add considerable pleasure to the task of repeating and memorizing. The major advantage of a film-strip over a moving picture is that the individual frames can be held in position for a relatively long time, while the learners are repeating the language-material and at the same time concentrating their gaze on the screen. With moving pictures, one can in general only look and listen passively; this type of work is most profitable at the intermediate and advanced stages. Some efforts have been made to prepare movies with specially simplified dialogue, understandable by beginners;

in general, such dialogues are rather artificial, and fail to fit into the real-life background shown in the pictures. Some learners tend to feel distressed and discouraged if they cannot understand every word of the sound-track; they should be encouraged to feel happy if they understand a reasonable proportion of it, since, even with the best quality of reproduction, not all native speakers understand all the dialogue in any given movie.

In some language-fields, considerable emphasis is laid on "realia", i.e. what anthropologists call the "material culture" of the foreign country, as brought to the student either through actual artifacts or by showing him pictures of such. Printed items like restaurant-menus, theater-programs, tickets for transportation (trains, street-cars, buses), advertisements and posters (e.g. for bull-fights), can all be used to supplement the official text-book; many texts contain reproductions of such material as illustrations, or even have them in separate pockets at the end of the volume. Maps and photographs (either separately or in albums) are equally helpful, as are objects of any size, as conversation-pieces. A device used by a group of missionaries for teaching Navaho language and culture simultaneously might well find wider imitation: dolls are dressed in the appropriate costume and are placed in models of houses, court-yards, etc., and then the learners either talk (in the target-language) about what the people are doing or speak their lines for them.

Language-clubs, -tables, and -houses are valuable adjuncts to class-room work, but only if effectively organized and used for their fundamental purpose, namely giving extra practice in the language itself. Too often, especially on the high-school level, a language-club is simply an excuse for pleasant chit-chat in English. If the learner uses only his own language, no matter how much cultural lore he may pick up, the basic aim of the club (table, house) is defeated. Normally, it takes an enthusiastic, able, and dedicated person (usually, but not always, a woman) to spark a language-activity of this type into life. In addition to desultory conversation, there are all kinds of society-games that can be used to get the participants to use the

target-language and to mix socially. Native speakers should be invited and encouraged to use their special talents, as lecturers, performers, etc.; with a little tactful guidance, most native speakers of any given language can adapt their usage to that of beginners or intermediate students. Nor does the topic of a lecture or discussion always have to be some facet of the target-culture; one of my most stimulating experiences in learning Italian was a visit to the Oriental Museum at the University of Chicago under the guidance of an Assyriologist who was a native speaker of Italian.

One of the most frequent and helpful aspects of a language-group's activities is putting on plays. These may be long or short, more or less ambitious, depending on the resources available; but even getting up and reciting the lines of a play on a bare stage is a valuable experience for every learner. Simply reading the lines from the book is permissible, but only if insufficient time is available for complete memorization. The act of memorizing the lines of even a one-acter (a longer play is, of course, still better) is highly beneficial, since inevitably the actors keep the speeches in mind, use them in their casual conversation with each other, and, in essence, treat them as a large and particularly meaningful group of basic sentences, to which they can apply all their knowledge of the language. If the services of a director are required, it is best to have one who knows the target-language and can coach the actors in the language of the play; failing this, it is good to have a student director who will do part of the work and use the target-language as much as possible. Marionettes may also be used, since they at least give practice in speaking the lines of the play; but it is better for the learner to do the acting himself, since he thus has a chance to put his entire body and personality into the performance (including, of course, imitation of the gestures and bearing of any native speakers he may have as models).

All the activities discussed in this chapter are valuable adjuncts to the language-learning-process, but they are only adjuncts, useful insofar as they contribute to the learner's fundamental need, that of internalizing the habits

of the target-language and incorporating them into his own behavior. Neither the laboratory nor the study of realia nor the language-group should be allowed to become an aim in itself, and above all the learner must not concentrate on cultural content to the point of neglecting the target-language itself.

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CONCLUSION

Chapter 19. The Linguistic Approach

It is often asked, "What is this new linguistic method? How is it different from or superior to the grammar-method, the translation-method, the direct method, and all the other methods? Aren't all the methods pretty much equal?" From our discussion in the preceding chapters, it should be clear that this kind of question is wrongly oriented. The knowledge that linguistics has brought us concerning human language does not constitute, in its application to the practical problems of language-teaching, a new *method*. It constitutes a new *approach*, a new stand-point from which to observe language and its workings in human society, and which has fundamental implications for the way in which we tackle the learning of a new language. It is true that certain particular methods, especially the old direct method (pp. 20–21), the phonetic method (pp. 21–22), and the audio-lingual method (pp. 22–23), are more in line with the facts than are others. Nevertheless, even the old grammar-, translation-, and reading-methods can, in fact must be, revivified by coming into renewed contact with the facts of human language if they are to be at all successful.

As pointed out in Chapters 5–9, language is fundamentally oral and auditory, habitual, systematic, and derives its meaning from the contexts it is used in. The linguistic approach emphasizes these facts as an underpinning for any work to be done involving language. It has been the experience of the last hundred and more years that those who keep the facts of language in mind and base their work on them are, in the long run, markedly more successful in teaching and learning foreign languages than are those who deny or neglect them. Even those learners whose

work has been organized for them along non-linguistic or anti-linguistic lines (e.g. emphasizing grammar or translation to the overt exclusion of all other aspects of language), if they learn anything at all, do so by nevertheless heeding the actual nature of language and by learning to speak, overtly or covertly, in spite of the approach used.

The ultimate result of language-learning along linguistic lines is a command of all four facets: hearing, speaking, reading, and writing, gained in the order mentioned. The last two, especially, are the more effective for being based on solid achievement in the first two. There is, therefore, no ground for the apprehension often manifested by teachers of foreign literatures, that the linguistic approach will in some way impair their students' ability to read, understand, and appreciate literary works, or will prejudice their students against literature. On the contrary, a student who has been given a completely linguistically oriented training in the target-language will have a greater ability to appreciate the foreign literature than any other. He will have made greater progress than any other towards the indispensable prerequisites for such appreciation: a native-like grasp of the pronunciation and structure of the language, an understanding of its meanings, and a clear conception of the ways in which its culture differs from his own. He will have a better basis on which to understand how the foreign literature reflects the culture out of which it grew, and how its great writers utilized the characteristics of their linguistic medium for the greatest artistic effects. True, the findings of linguistics contradict a certain amount of folk-lore about language that is current in long-established speech-communities (e.g. that the French Academy is the repository of all wisdom concerning the French language); but the sooner every-one, including *littérateurs*, learns what is valid and what is invalid in our society's notions on such topics, the freer we shall be to concentrate on the real problems of literary study and analysis.

The greatest ultimate value to be derived from learning a foreign language and studying its literature is the understanding of linguistic and cultural relativity, as pointed out on p. 116. The person who knows only one language and

one culture is condemned to wear the blinders of ethnocentrism, thinking his way of talking and living to be the only one possible. That this is not so, he learns from acquaintance with even one other language and culture. Knowledge of this fundamental fact of human life is essential to survival in our time of greatly extended global contacts; as Americans, we can no longer expect the rest of the world to let us go on in our narrow, parochial self-centeredness. As Twaddell has put it,[29] "If there is one thing that Americans will have to learn in the second half of the twentieth century, it is that there are *non*-American habits which are not *anti*-American choices." Beyond this narrow, essentially negative need for self-preservation, however, there is an immensely important positive factor favoring the study of foreign languages and literatures: the fruitful use of our greatly increased leisure-time. If we are to escape further cheapening and vulgarization of our existence through the debasement of our mass entertainment, we shall have to do so by cultivating our individual talents and interests, along as great a range of diversity as possible. Knowledge of one or more foreign languages, literatures, and cultures is not least among the channels through which we can enrich our personalities and hence our lives.

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[29] Twaddell, 78.

APPENDIX A • *Eight Major Languages*

To guide those who are interested in learning a new language, but are not acquainted with the possible choices, we give in this Appendix a series of brief discussions of eight major languages frequently available to students in United States high-schools and colleges: Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, German, and Russian. In each section, we give: (1) the country or countries where the language is spoken; (2–5) brief characterizations of the orthography, phonology, morphology, and syntax of the language; (6) a characterization of its literature; and (7) an indication of its non-literary uses. Our intention is to furnish, not complete sketches of the languages concerned, but an indication of the major respects in which they present features of interest or difficulty to speakers of English.

1. LATIN

1. Not spoken as the native language of any group at present; spoken (usually with "church" pronunciation; cf. below, subsection 2) in some theological seminaries and on the higher levels of the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. It is used extensively in the ritual of this church, and is still the vehicle for some new writing on theological and ecclesiastical matters.

2. In the absence of any speech-community for whom it is their native language and hence to whose usage appeal may be made, all current pronunciations of Latin have only an arbitrary basis. That most widely taught in American schools is the so-called "classical" pronunciation, intended to approximate the usage of the "Golden Age" of Latin literature ca. 50–1 B.C. (the time of Caesar, Cicero, Vergil, and Horace), in which *c* is always interpreted as /k/, *g* as /g/, and *ae* as /ai/: e.g. *Caesar* /kaisar/, *gelidus*

/gelidus/ "cold". In the official pronunciation of the Roman Catholic Church, *ae* is equated with short /e/, and *c* before *ae*, *e*, and *i* is treated as a "soft" consonant, usually in accordance with the orthography of the local standard language, being interpreted as /č/ in Italy and those countries whose ecclesiastical authorities follow Italian usage, as /c/ in German-speaking areas, and as /s/ in France. The letter *g* before *ae*, *e*, and *i* is also treated as "soft", but with a different distribution: as /ǧ/ in the Italian usage, as /ž/ in France, but as "hard" /g/ in German-speaking regions. Thus, *caelum* "heaven" and *gelidus* "cold" will be read off as /čelum/ and /ǧelidus/ in Italy, as /celum/ and /gelidus/ in Germany or Austria, and as /selum/ and /želidus/ in France. In the "classical" pronunciation, *v* is interpreted as /w/, e.g. *vīta* "life" as /wi:tá/, but in other pronunciations it is treated as /v/: *vīta* /vi:tă/.

The older "English" pronunciation, in which all letters were given the values they have in English orthography, survives at present only in fixed expressions like *prima facie* /práimə féiʃi/ or *sub judice* /sʌb ǧúdɪsi/.

3. The sound-system of Latin, as usually reconstructed in the "restored classical" pronunciation,[30] includes five vowels, each of which can occur long or short: /i e a o u ĭ ĕ ă ŏ ŭ/. As pointed out on p. 88, vowel-length was highly significant in Latin grammatical structure and versification; the long vowel was between 1½ and 2 times as long as the short vowel, and its pronunciation should be learned as such from the start. (Unfortunately, virtually no teachers of Latin insist that their students observe vowel-length; the sensitive student will observe it for himself, as a basis for appreciation of poetry if for no other reason.) The two semi-vowels /j/ *i* or *j*[31] and /w/ *v* are

[30] The validity of this restoration is often queried, with the argument, "We really can't know anything about how they actually did pronounce Latin." The answer is that we do know a great deal, as a result of the patient investigations of generations of scholars; cf. especially Sturtevant, 1940; Kent.

[31] Modern American printings of Latin texts normally use *i* for both the vowel /i/ and the semi-vowel /j/, as in *iūdex* "judge"; but elsewhere the letter *j* is widely used for the semi-vowel, e.g. *jūdex*.

pronounced in the same tongue- and lip-position as /i/ and /u/ respectively, but function as consonants. The consonant-system is quite simple: /p t k b d g f s m n r l h/.[32]

A syllable is considered as long, in Latin, if it contains a long vowel ("long by nature") or if it contains a consonant following the vowel in the same syllable ("long by position"): in *tantī* "so many", the first syllable is long by position, the second by nature. Stress is assumed to have been automatic, occurring on the next to the last syllable if it is long either by nature or by position, otherwise on the third from the last syllable: *mūtātus* "changed", *mūtándus* "to be changed", but *témpora* "times". Nothing is known of intonation or of junctural phenomena.

4. Latin morphology is characterized by extensive variations in the form of substantives (= nouns and adjectives), pronouns, and verbs. Substantives and pronouns are inflected for number, gender, and case; pronouns for these three and for person; verbs, for number, person, tense, mood, aspect, and voice. Number is singular versus plural; gender, masculine (with neuter as a subcategory) versus feminine; person, first (speaker), second (person spoken to), and third (all others). Cases are six: nominative (used to name something or to relate it to a verb as the subject), genitive (indicating possessor), dative (something or somebody to whom something is given or for whose benefit something is done), accusative (the direct object of an active verb), ablative (person or thing from which something is taken or something goes away) and vocative (person called to). Tense-contrasts are those of present, past, and future; aspect, of perfective (action over and done with) versus imperfective (action not finished); voice, of active (subject performing an action) versus passive (subject on the receiving end of the action); mood, of indica-

[32]Here and in other descriptions of phonological structure, we print the characters representing consonant phonemes, not in alphabetical order, but in the sequence customary in tabular presentation in phonological analysis: stops, fricatives, sibilants, nasals, flaps or trills, laterals, and aspirates, with voiceless preceding voiced in each series and proceeding from the front of the mouth to the back in point of articulation.

tive versus subjunctive and imperative. There are also certain derived verb-forms which do not show person and number: the infinitive and several participles, which have the inflection of nouns, adjectives, or adverbs. Variations in inflectional form are indicated wholly by changes in ending.

In nouns and adjectives there are a number (five, in traditional Latin grammar) of subclasses, called *declensions;* these are determined primarily by the different vowels found between the root of the noun and its case- and number-endings. Traditional grammar distinguishes four subclasses, or *conjugations,* of verbs, also determined largely by the characteristic stem-vowel occurring after the verb-root. Each noun normally has only one set of forms, those of the declension to which it belongs, and nouns usually belong to only one gender (sometimes to two); adjectives manifest all three genders, and have two or three sets of forms, inasmuch as some adjectives belong to one declension (the third) and others to two declensions (the first for feminine inflection, and the second for the masculine). Resultant sample variations:

Nouns of various declensions:

Declension	Characteristic Vowels	Examples
I.	*-a-*	*porta* "door", *portā* "from a door"
II.	*-o-/-u-*	*servus* "slave", *servō* "from a slave"
III.	*-i-/-e-*/zero	*cōnsul* "consul", *cōnsulī* "to a consul", *cōnsule* "from a consul"
IV.	*-u-*	*manus* "hand", *manū* "from a hand"
V.	*-e-*	*rēs* "thing", *rē* "from a thing"

Sample declension of a masculine *-o-/-u-* stem-noun (second declension), *servus* "slave":

Case	Singular	Plural
nominative	*servus* "a slave"	*servī* "slaves"
genitive	*servī* "of a slave"	*servōrum* "of slaves"
dative	*servō* "to a slave"	*servīs* "to slaves"
accusative	*servum* "a slave"	*servōs* "slaves"
ablative	*servō* "from a slave"	*servīs* "from slaves"
vocative	*serve* "O slave!"	*servī* "O slaves!"

Sample declension of a I–II-declension adjective, *bonus -a -um* "good":

	Singular			Plural		
Case	Masc.	Neut.	Fem	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
nominative	*bonus*	*bonum*	*bona*	*bonī*	*bona*	*bonae*
genitive	*bonī*		*bonae*	*bonōrum*		*bonārum*
dative	*bonō*		*bonae*	*bonīs*		
accusative	*bonum*		*bonam*	*bonōs*	*bona*	*bonās*
ablative	*bonō*		*bonā*	*bonīs*		
vocative	*bone*	*bonum*	*bona*	*bonī*	*bona*	*bonae*

As in the Indo-European languages generally, the pronouns' declensional pattern is too irregular to warrant giving sample paradigms. The complete conjugation of even a single verb includes well over a hundred forms, and would be too extensive to give here; we append only a sample of a single tense of a first-conjugation verb, *portāre* "to carry":

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	*portō* "I carry"	*portāmus* "we carry"
2nd	*portās* "thou carriest"	*portātis* "you [pl.] carry"
3rd	*portat* "he, she, it carries"	*portant* "they carry"

5. Latin syntax is quite complicated, but in a different way from that of English, in that there are extensive requirements for the choice of an appropriate form[33] in grammatically related elements, and in that word-order is thereby made much freer. This contrasts directly with the situation in English, in which agreement (e.g. of subject with verb) and government of cases is quite limited in its extent, but word-order is relatively fixed. In individual phrases, adjectives modifying nouns must agree with them in gender, number, and case: e.g. m. pl. nom. *bonī hominēs* "good men", but f. pl. nom. *bonae fēminae* "good women" and n. pl. nom. or acc. *bona indumenta* "good clothes". Subject and verb agree in number, and a predicate complement refers back to the number and gender of the subject: e.g. *Hominēs certant* "The men are fighting", *Puella pulchra est* "The girl is beautiful". Requirements for use of specific case-forms are quite complicated, especially after

[33] We use the expression *choice of an appropriate form* in order to cover agreement, government, and cross-reference (cf. Hall, 1964a, Chapter 27).

specific prepositions and with nouns depending on specific verbs or adjectives: for instance, the genitive must be used with a noun which modifies such adjectives as *cupidus* "desirous" or *memor* "mindful", as in *cupidus bellī* "desirous of war", or with the object of a verb like *meminiscī* "to remember". In oratory and poetry, constructions are extensively interwoven, with resultant initial difficulty for speakers of English, but, in the long run, with great reward and enjoyment of the dramatic tension involved in reading and understanding such a sentence as *Neque enim is es, Catalīna, ut tē aut pudor ā turpitudine aut metus ā periculo aut ratiō ā furōre revocārit* "Nor are you such a person, Catiline, that self-respect could turn you away from shameful behavior, or fear from danger, or reason from madness" (Cicero, "First Oration Against Catiline" 9).

6. Latin literature is one of the world's greatest. Its poets include Lucretius (95–ca. 54 B.C.), author of the philosophical *Dē rērum natūrā "On the Nature of Things"*; Vergil (70–19 B.C.), writer of the *Aeneid*, the third great epic poem of ancient times, as well as of the rustic *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, dealing with country life; the satirist Horace (65–8 B.C.); the mythologist and amorous poet Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 19); and the lyric poet Catullus (ca. 84–54 B.C.). Among its prose-writers are the orator Cicero (106–43 B.C.) and the historians Caesar (100–44 B.C.), Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17), and Tacitus (A.D. ca. 55–ca. 118), in addition to a host of lesser authors. There are also a number of writers on technical subjects, such as the architect Vitruvius. Mediaeval and Renaissance Latin has a wide range of philosophical and theological writing, and a great deal of poetry (especially lyric) which, although not strictly "classical" in language or prosody, is of considerable literary value.

7. The non-literary advantages of studying Latin are of two kinds: linguistic and cultural. A large proportion of our English learnèd vocabulary has been borrowed more or less directly from Latin; and a knowledge of Latin lexicon and structure aids the user of formal English, not only in grasping the meaning of technical terms, but also in deciding quickly and surely such minor problems of

spelling as the choice of vowel-letter in such suffixes as *-able* and *-ible*, *-ant* and *-ent* (which are determined almost wholly by the conjugation of the Latin verbs from which they are derived). Our traditional English grammar misrepresents the structure of English very badly, but it does so in terms of Latin; as long as traditional grammar remains dominant in our schools' teaching of English, it will be much less incomprehensible if approached with a knowledge of the Latin structure on which it is based. (As a training in "logical thinking", neither Latin nor any other language has any value at all.) More important than these considerations, perhaps, is the fact that, of all the languages currently taught in our schools, Latin is the most suitable for the inculcation of linguistic and cultural relativity, in that its structure is farther from that of English, and ancient Roman culture was farther from our own, than is that of any modern West European language.

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2. GREEK

1. We must distinguish between Ancient Greek, which is the language normally taught by departments of classical languages, and Modern Greek. The former is not spoken anywhere, nor is it even used as a language of communication among non-native speakers as Latin still is to a certain extent (cf. p. 128). The latter is the national language of Greece, and is used in two main varieties, the *dhimotikí* (demotic) or "popular" and the *katharévousa* or "purified". Although Mediaeval and Modern Greek have a considerable literature and are useful for any-one interested in the eastern Mediterranean, they are almost completely neglected in American schools and colleges. We shall be concerned here only with Ancient Greek.

2. The Greek alphabet differs considerably from the Roman. It includes the following characters (given here in four columns, with capitals and lower-case, the letter-

names in the third column, and their usual Roman transliterations in the fourth):

Α	α	alpha	*a*	Ο	ο	omicron	*o*
Β	β	beta	*b*	Π	π	pi	*p*
Γ	γ	gamma	*g*	Ρ	ρ	rho	*r*
Δ	δ	delta	*d*	Σ	σ, ς	sigma	*t*
Ε	ε	epsilon	*e*	Τ	τ	tau	*s*
Ζ	ζ	zeta	*z*	Υ	υ	upsilon	*u, y*
Η	η	eta	*ē*	Φ	φ	phi	*ph*
Θ	θ	theta	*th*	Χ	χ	chi	*ch*
Ι	ι	iota	*i*	Ψ	ψ	psi	*ps*
Κ	κ	kappa	*k*	Ω	ω	omega	*ō*
Λ	λ	lambda	*l*			"rough breathing"	*h*
Μ	μ	mu	*m*				
Ν	ν	nu	*n*			"smooth breathing"	—
Ξ	ξ	xi	*x*				

An iota following long α, η, and ω is, in lower-case, written underneath these letters and termed *iota subscript:* ᾳ, ῃ, and ῳ, as in τῃ κωμῳδίᾳ *tēi kōmōidiāi* "to the comedy". One of the two breathing-marks ' or ' must be written over the first vowel of each word that begins with a vowel, to indicate whether it actually begins with the phoneme /h-/ or not: ὁρῶν *horôn* "seeing" versus ὀρῶν *orôn* "of mountains"; in addition, all words beginning with ρ- /r-/ automatically have rough breathing, as in ῥήτωρ *rhḗtōr* "orator".

Greek orthography uses three accent-marks, the acute ´, the grave `, and the circumflex ῀ (transcribed ^ in romanizations). Of these, the grave is simply an automatic variant of the acute, taking the place of this latter when it comes on the final syllable of a word before another word: thus, m. pl. acc. τούς *toús* "the" + m. pl. acc. ἀνθρώπους *anthrópous* "men" → τοὺς ἀνθρώπους *toùs anthrópous*. The circumflex occurs only over letters standing for long vowels: ᾶ, ῆ, ῖ, ῦ, ῶ, and hence cannot stand over epsilon or omicron.

3. Scholars are not in as much agreement over the pronunciation of Ancient Greek as they are over that of

classical Latin. It is customary to treat the vowel-system as if it had five vowels, each occurring both short and long: /i e a o u ī ē ā ō ū/, but the phonetic characteristics of /u/ and /ū/ are doubtful. In earlier times, upsilon undoubtedly stood for a back rounded vowel like our /u/, but it later become fronted to /y/ like French *u* or German *ü* (cf. below), and what was earlier a diphthong /ou/, spelled ου, became /u/, which is the pronunciation given it by present-day scholars. The habit of pronouncing ει as /ai/ instead of /ei/, as in λείπω *leipō* "I leave", is a legacy from nineteenth-century Americans' imitation of German scholars' pronunciation, and is not to be recommended. In Byzantine times, the second element of the diphthongs written with iota subscript (cf. above) was lost, so that ᾳ /āi/ became /ā/, ῃ /ēi/ became /ē/, and ῳ /ōi/ became /ō/; this pronunciation is normal among present-day scholars, although in classical Greek times (fifth century B.C.) these were unquestionably diphthongs.

Ancient Greek is normally pronounced as if it had the following consonant phonemes: /p t k b d g f θ x s m n l r h/. The pronunciation of φ, θ, and χ as fricatives /f θ x/ dates from late antiquity; in the classical period, they stood for the aspirated stops /p' t' k'/. The letters ξ and ψ stood, even in ancient times, for the consonant-clusters /ks/ and /ps/ respectively.

The accent of Ancient Greek was not automatically determined by the length of the syllable, as was that of Latin, but was unpredictable and hence phonemically significant. It is generally thought that the acute and circumflex accent-marks stood for changes in the pitch of the voice, the acute representing a high pitch and the circumflex a sliding from high to low, a situation which must have made Ancient Greek sound rather like modern Swedish or Norwegian. In present-day reproduction of Ancient Greek pronunciation, native speakers of modern languages unfortunately treat the accent-marks as indicators of stress, and neglect both pitch and vowel-length.

4. Greek morphology is even more complicated, in some ways, than that of Latin. The over-all structure of Greek forms is of much the same type, but the inflection

of Greek substantives includes five cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative), three genders (masculine, neuter, feminine), and three numbers (singular, dual, and plural). Greek verbs vary for person and number, and also for aspect (imperfective and aorist), tense (past, present, future), mood (indicative, subjunctive, optative, and imperative), and voice (active, middle, and passive). The optative indicates a wish or desire on the part of the subject; the middle voice refers to action whose effect is turned back on the subject, as in the current English use of such verbs as *identify* or *relate* without reflexive pronouns (*He doesn't identify easily with a group* instead of *He doesn't identify himself easily with a group*). The nouns and adjectives can be classified, by their stem-vowels, into three declensions, but the verbs do not fall into conjugations of the same type as those of Latin. Shifting or non-shifting of accent in noun- and verb-paradigms creates a fairly complicated set of subtypes according to the various alternations manifested. Sample paradigms of the *-o*-stem noun ἄνθρωπος *ánthrōpos* "man" and of the present of the verb λυ- *lu-* "loose" follow:

Case		Singular
nominative	ἄνθρωπος	*ánthrōpos* "a man"
genitive	ἀνθρώπου	*anthrṓpou* "of a man"
dative	ἀνθρώποι	*anthrṓpoi* "to a man"
accusative	ἄνθρωπον	*ánthrōpon* "a man"
vocative	ἄνθρωπε	*ánthrōpe* "O man!"

Case		Dual
nom., acc., voc.	ἀνθρώπω	*anthrṓpō* "two men"
gen., dat.	ἀνθρώποιν	*anthrṓpoin* "of two men, to two men"

Case		Plural
nominative	ἄνθρωποι	*ánthrōpoi* "men"
genitive	ἀνθρώπων	*anthrṓpōn* "of men"
dative	ἀνθρώποις	*anthrṓpois* "to men"
accusative	ἀνθρώπους	*anthrṓpous* "men"
vocative	ἄνθρωποι	*ánthrōpoi* "O men!"

Person		Singular
1st	λύω	*lúō* "I loose"
2nd	λύεις	*lúeis* "thou loosest"
3rd	λύει	*lúei* "he, she, it looses"
Person		**Dual**
2nd	λύετον	*lúeton* "the two of you loose"
3rd	λύετον	*lúeton* "the two of them loose"
Person		**Plural**
1st	λύομεν	*lúomen* "we loose"
2nd	λύετε	*lúete* "you [pl.] loose"
3rd	λύουσι	*lúousi* "they [three or more] loose"

5. Greek syntax, like that of Latin, is quite complicated, along the lines of involved morphological agreement and of free word-order. The luxuriance of verbal inflection enables a number of shades of meaning to be expressed in dependent clauses indicating wishes, conditions, and the like. Rhetorical devices make Greek oratory especially rich in dramatic developments and contrasts. A good example of a medium-length Greek sentence is: τὸ δὲ μήτε πάλαι τοῦτο πεπονθέναι, πεφηνέναι τὲ τινα ἡμίν συμμαχίαν τουτῶν ἀντίρροπον, ἂν βουλόμεθα χρῆσθαι, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων εὐνοίας εὐεργέτημ' ἂν ἐγώγε θέιην *Tò dè méte pálai toûto peponthénai, pephēnénai tè tina hēmín summachiān toutôn antírropon, àn boulómetha chrêsthai, tês par' ekeínōn eunoías euergétēm' àn egóge théiēn* ". . . but the fact that we have not suffered this long ago, and that an alliance has appeared to us to balance these, if we shall wish to use it,—this I should ascribe as a benefaction to their good will" (Demosthenes).

6. The appeal of Ancient Greek to the modern learner lies wholly in its literature, since it has virtually no practical use in our times. Ancient Greek literature ranks among the world's very greatest, with top-rank authors in virtually every field. The two early Greek epics ascribed to Homer, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, are regarded as the best ever composed, as are the great tragedies of Aeschylus (525–456 B.C.), Sophocles (ca. 497–405 B.C.), and Euripides (485–406 B.C.), and the comedies of Aristophanes (ca. 450–385 B.C.). The philosophical writings of

Plato (427–347 B.C.) and Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), the oratory of Demosthenes (384–322 B.C.), and the histories of Herodotus (ca. 485–425 B.C.), Thucydides (ca. 460–400 B.C.), and Xenophon (ca. 427–ca. 355 B.C.) have served as models for all later writings in these fields. Greek lyric poetry, serious and light, is extremely rich. Christianity has especial treasures in the New Testament (written in a decidedly post-classical language) and the theological writings of the Greek church fathers.

7. Since a large proportion of our humanistic and technical vocabulary is of Greek origin, some knowledge of Greek is very helpful in understanding the formation of our learnèd words.

3. FRENCH

1. French is the national language of France and its dependencies, in addition to being (together with Flemish) one of the two national languages of Belgium and (with German, Italian, and Romansh) one of the four of Switzerland. It is also an official language in many former French colonies (e.g. nations of central Africa, Madagascar, Laos, Vietnam, Cambodia, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco). It is widely used as a *lingua franca* in many other parts of the world, especially in the eastern end of the Mediterranean. The speech of educated Parisians, especially as dictated by the French Academy, is widely considered to be an absolute standard, although it is not in fact as exclusively dominant as is often thought.

2. The orthography of French utilizes the twenty-six letters of the Roman alphabet, plus three accent-marks: acute ´ , grave ` , and circumflex ˆ , and certain other diacritical marks such as the diaeresis ¨ and the cedilla ¸ . Like English spelling, that of French is essentially phonemically based, but has numerous deviations from consistency caused by etymological spellings and silent letters, which give rise to alternative representations for phonemes: e.g. *f* and *ph* for /f/, as in *folie* "madness" versus *philosophie* "philosophy"; *ai,* or *è* or *e* followed by double consonant for /ɛ/, as in *je mène* /ʒəmɛn/ "I lead" versus *je jette* /ʒəʒɛt/ "I throw", or *je fais* /ʒəfɛ/ "I do" versus

legs /lɛ/ "legacy" (with silent *g*). Many final consonant-letters stand for alternations of one or more consonants with zero, depending on what follows (cf. below, subsection 4).

3. French phonology is even more complicated in its vowel-system than that of English, with the following non-nasal vowel phonemes: /i e ɛ a y ø œ ə u o ɔ ɑ/, plus four nasal vowels: /ẽ ã õ œ̃/. Many speakers merge certain of these phonemes: /e/ with /ɛ/, /œ/ with /ø/, /a/ with /ɑ/, and (very widely) /ẽ/ with /œ̃/. All speakers have at least /j/ as a semi-vowel, and many have also /w/ and /ɥ/ (corresponding to the full vowels /i u y/ respectively). Consonant phonemes include: /p t k b d g f s ʃ v z ʒ m n ŋ l r/. The vowel /ə/ is quite unstable, and is frequently lost when it stands between two consonants: thus, *du* /dy/ "of the" + *chemin* /ʃəmẽ/ "road" → /dyʃmẽ/. Because of this frequent loss of /ə/, every-day colloquial French has many unindicated combinations of consonants, and shows less direct correlation with the way it is written than do other European languages. At the end of a word, French /ə/ was lost in the seventeenth century, so that words written with consonant-letter + *-e* normally end in a consonant sound, e.g. f. *assise* "seated", pronounced /asiz/; and vowel-letter + *-e* at the end of a word has the same final sound as the vowel-letter alone, e.g. both f. sg. *formée* "formed" and m. sg. *formé* are pronounced /fɔrme/.

Stress is not phonemic in French; its occurrence is automatically conditioned, every syllable in a breath-group being stressed evenly, with only a slight increase in the energy with which the final syllable of the breath-group is pronounced. Individual words are not given separate stress, and there are no phonological markers of the boundaries between words in normal speech. From the way it is written, one tends to think of French as having separate "words" as do, say, English or German; in fact, however, French is like many American Indian languages in having long words containing many elements strung together, e.g. French *Je ne lui en avais pas encore parlé* /ʒənlɥiãnavɛpɑzãkɔrparle/ "I hadn't yet spoken to him

about it", comparable to such an Oneida sentence as /waʔtwakiʔtayaʔtaseʔtslu:kó:/ "I bumped right smack into the girl".

The intonation-system of French differs radically from that of English, in that the pitch of each successive syllable is only slightly higher or lower than that of the preceding syllable. Sequences of pitches are significant, not according to the relative levels involved, but according to the direction of change in pitch (e.g. gradual-rising; sharp-rising; rising-falling; falling; level). On each syllable, the pitch remains virtually level for the duration of the syllable, rather than sliding up or down as in English. Using a hyphen for the pitch of each syllable, we can represent the pitch in a simple French sentence approximately as follows: *Il ne veut rien faire* /ilnəvøʀjɛ̃fɛʀ/ "He doesn't want to do anything" as _ - - ˝ _ (rising-falling).

4. Each French grammatical form may have one, two, or three separate shapes in pronunciation, depending primarily on what sound follows in the same phonemic phrase. Thus, French *six* "six" appears as /sis/ before a pause, as in *j'en ai six* /ʒanesis/ "I have six of them"; as /siz/ before a vowel, e.g. *six arbres* /sizarbr/ "six trees"; and as /si/ before a consonant, as in *six personnes* /sipɛʀsɔn/ "six persons". Words are normally spelled in their longest form, with a consonant-letter to indicate the final phoneme which occurs when a consonant-sound is pronounced: thus, the sound /z/, occurring in French *six* only before a vowel, is represented by the letter *x*, which is "silent" before a consonant and stands for /s/ before a pause. This phenomenon is known as *liaison* /liezõ/, literally "linking". From the point of view of spelling, the problem "When does one pronounce a final consonant-letter?" seems to be one of "sounding out letters", and hence liaison is usually dealt with under phonetics. It is, however, essentially a problem of morphology, since its occurrence is determined, not automatically by the sound following each form, but by characteristics of the form itself and by its syntactic position; hence liaison is really an aspect of French morphology, and the liaison-class of a form is one category of its inflection.

French nouns and adjectives vary for gender (masculine and feminine) and for number (singular and plural). This variation is rigorously observed in standard spelling, but due to the loss of final /ə/ and the alternation of final /-z/ -s (plural sign) with zero, in speech the masculine is often identical with the feminine and the singular with the plural: e.g. m. sg. *chanté* "sung", f. sg. *chantée*, m. pl. *chantés*, and f. pl. *chantées* are all pronounced /ʃãte/. As in the other Romance languages, pronouns have three different sets of forms: those used together with verbs (*conjunctive* forms), as subjects and objects, and those used independently of verbs (*disjunctive* forms), e.g. *je* /ʒə/ "I" subject, as in *je travaille* /ʒətravaj/ "I work"; *me* /mə/ "me" object, e.g. *il me voit* /ilməvwa/ "he sees me"; and *moi* /mwa/ "I, me" used alone or after prepositions, as in *pour moi* /purmwa/ "for me" or *Qui est là? Moi* /kiɛlaˌ mwa/ "Who's there? Me [I]". Verbs fall into three conjugations, according to their characteristic last vowels: the first (with vowels /e ~ ə ~ a/), e.g. *chanter* /ʃãte/ "to sing"; the second (vowel /i/), e.g. *dormir* /dɔrmir/ "to sleep"; and the third (no vowel), e.g. *battre* /batr/ "to beat". As in the other West Romance languages, each verb has three stems, on which from one to four tenses are built. A certain number of frequently-occurring verbs have irregularities in the formation of either the root or the endings or both.

5. French syntax is quite complicated, especially in minor details with fine shadings of meaning. Its basic structure is like that of English, with the sentence-kernel consisting of SUBJECT (noun or pronoun) + VERB (with or without complements and modifiers): e.g. *Je travaille* /ʒətravaj/ "I work", *Mon père travaille* /mõpɛrtravaj/ "My father works". The French verbal phrase includes a verb-form as its center, with or without one or two conjunctive elements or *pro-complements:* e.g. *J'y travaille* /ʒitravaj/ "I work there"; *Il m'en donne* /ilmãdɔn/ "He gives me some"; *Nous la voyons* /nulavwajõ/ "We see her". The verb-center with or without pro-complements known as a *verbal core*. The verbal core can further expanded by the addition of auxiliary verbs forming either

perfect phrases ("compound tenses" in traditional grammars) or passive phrases: e.g. *Nous avons travaillé* /nuzavõtravaje/ "We have worked, we worked"; *Il a été tué* /ilaetetye/ "He has been killed". Negation is accomplished by sandwiching *ne . . . pas* /n(ə) . . . pɑ(z)/ around the inflected form of the verb (and the subject when it is in inverted position after the verb, as in a question): e.g. *Je ne travaille pas* /ʒəntravajpɑ/ "I don't work"; *N'avons-nous pas travaillé?* /navõnupɑtravaje?/ "Haven't we worked?". Agreement in gender and number is required, not only between adjectives and nouns they modify (e.g. f. pl. *les bonnes nouvelles* /lebɔnnuvɛl/ "the good news"), subjects and nouns or adjectives used as predicate complements (e.g. *Elle est bonne* /ɛlebɔn/ "She is good", but also between past participles in perfect phrases and preceding direct objects, as in *Il les a comprises* /illezakõpriz/ "He has understood them [f.]". The use of the present subjunctive is becoming more and more restricted in modern every-day speech, and the past subjunctive is already dead in all except literary usage.

6. Among modern literatures, that written in French enjoys a very high reputation, from its earliest manifestations down to the present. Old French literature was outstanding for its epic poems (beginning with the *Song of Roland*, ca. 1100), its lyric poetry, and its religious drama. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries boasted several top-rank lyric poets (François Villon, fifteenth century; Pierre de Ronsard [1524–1585]; and Joachim du Bellay [1522–1560]). The sixteenth century was also the period of the skeptical philosopher Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) and the humorist François Rabelais (ca. 1495–1554). The "classical" period of the seventeenth century is rated in France as the highest point of French literature, with the dramatists Pierre Corneille (1606–1684) and Jean Racine (1639–1699), the fabulist Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695), and the satirist Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711). The eighteenth century was the period of such diverse talents as the philosopher and satirist Voltaire (1694–1778), the reformer and novelist Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), the legal theorist Charles de

Montesquieu (1689–1755) (whose theories had considerable influence on the writing of the American constitution), and the comedy-writer Pierre Caron de Beaumarchais (1732–1799). French romantic, realistic, naturalistic, and symbolistic literature of the nineteenth century is exceptionally rich, as is modern literature of all types.

7. Although it has been replaced by English as an international language in many fields of modern life (especially technology, travel, and diplomacy), French still enjoys high prestige with the upper classes of many European, African, and Latin American nations, and its use in such countries is likely to bring a more favorable response than the use of English. French is no longer predominant as an international language in scientific communication, but it is still widely used in the social sciences and the humanities.

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4. SPANISH

1. In addition to being the national language of Spain and its colonies, Spanish is the official language of all the independent countries of Latin America except Brazil (where Portuguese is spoken, cf. section 5) and the native language of varying percentages of their populations. In Spain, the usage of Madrid ("Castilian") is regarded as standard; in the Americas, there is no single predominant variety.

2. Spanish orthography uses *k* and *w* only in foreign words, and the remaining twenty-four letters of the Roman alphabet in Spanish words. The only diacritical marks are the acute accent ´ , the tilde ~ , and the diaresis ¨ . Questions and exclamations are marked by the use of upside-down marks at the beginning, as well as our familiar marks

at the end, of a sentence: e.g. *¿Qué hace Usted?* /kéáθeustéθ/ "What are you doing?"; *¡Qué lástima!* /kélástima/ "What a pity!" Spanish spelling is almost wholly phonemic in its basis; the only notable exceptions are in the writing of the phoneme /b/ (see below) with both *b* and *v*, as in *bien* /bién/ "well", but *viene* /biéne/ "he comes", and the use of *h* standing for no sound at all, e.g. *hombre* /ómbre/ "man". In some instances digraphs or letters with diacritics are used, as in *ll* for /ʎ/ or *ñ* for /ɲ/. The stress of words is marked with complete consistency, no accent-mark being used if a word ends in *-d*, *-r*, or *-l* and is stressed on the last syllable, or if it ends in any other sound and is stressed on the next to the last syllable, as in *cantar* /kantár/ "to sing", *canto* /kánto/ "I sing", *cantan* /kántan/ "they sing". If these conditions are not met, an accent-mark is used over the vowel letter of the stressed syllable, e.g. *canté* /kanté/ "I sang", *¡Cántalo!* /kántalo/ "Sing it!"

3. The phonology of Spanish is very simple in its vocalic structure, having only five vowel phonemes: /i e a o u/. All varieties of Spanish have /j/ as a semi-vowel phoneme (written *y*, as in *yo* /jó/ "I") and some varieties have also /w/ (written *u*, as in *huevo* /wébo/ "egg"). The consonant-system of standard Madrid (Castilian) Spanish includes the following: /p t k b d g f θ x m n ɲ l ʎ r r̄/. The voiced series transcribed here /b d g/ have stop-sounds as allophones only after certain conditions (in general, after a pause or after certain types of consonants such as a nasal, /l/ or /r/), and elsewhere have the corresponding voiced fricatives [β ð γ]. The only contrast between short and long consonants is in /r/ versus /r̄/, as in *caro* /káro/ "dear" and *carro* /ká/r̄/o/ "cart".

American Spanish differs in certain respects from the Castilian standard, especially in the merger of certain consonant phonemes: /θ/ has merged with /s/, as in *ciento* "one hundred", Castilian /θiénto/ but American Spanish /siénto/, and /ʎ/ has fallen together with /j/, as in *calle* "street", Castilian /káʎe/ but American Spanish /káje/. The Castilian use of /θ/ is known as *ceceo* /θeθéo/, and the American development of /θ/ to /s/ is

called *seseo* /seséo/; the passage of /ʎ/ to /j/ is *yeismo* /jeísmo/. The phoneme /x/, which in Castilian is a strong voiceless velar affricate [x], is in most American Spanish varieties simply a voiceless aspirate [h]. Very wide-spread, from the province of Andalusia in Spain to the Caribbean in Central America, and to Chile and Argentina, is the replacement of /s/ at the end of a syllable by /h/, as in *¿Cómo está Usted?* "How are you?", Castilian /kómoestáustéθ/, Puerto Rican etc. /kómoehtáuhté/.

4. Spanish morphology shows the customary Romance inflectional categories of gender (masculine and feminine), number (singular and plural), case (only in pronouns: nominative, dative, accusative), person (first, second, third), and tense (past, non-past, subjunctive [timeless], and imperative). In addition, there is a category of "neuter" (referring to abstract concepts), a subdivision of the masculine, only in the definite article and certain demonstrative pronouns: e.g. *el bueno* "the good man", but *lo bueno* "that which is good"; *éste* "this [man, etc.]", but *esto* "this matter, this affair".

The noun and adjective declensions of Spanish are quite simple and show relatively few irregularities. Plurals are formed almost wholly by adding *-s* to words ending in vowels, *-es* to those ending in consonants: thus, *casa* "house", *casas* "houses"; *orden* "order", *órdenes* "orders"; m. sg. *bueno* "good", f. sg. *buena*, m. pl. *buenos*, f. pl. *buenas*. Pronouns show the customary variety of inflection, with special forms for use as subjects, another set used as unstressed objects in conjunction with verbs, and still another set as stressed objects of verbs or after prepositions: e.g. 2nd sg. *tú* "you", subject, as in *tú mientes* "you're lying"; *te*, unstressed object, as in *Te veo* "I see you", *Te lo doy* "I'm giving it to you"; and *ti*, stressed object, as in *para ti* "for you". Spanish has a special pair of pronouns (sg. *Usted*, pl. *Ustedes*), with third person agreement, for direct address to persons between whom and the speaker there is a social barrier.

Verbs show a multiplicity of forms. They fall into the usual Romance conjugations: first, with characteristic vowel *-a-*, e.g. *trabajar* "to work"; second with vowel *-i-*, e.g. *sentir* "to

feel"; third, with vowel *-e-*, e.g. *comer* "to eat". Four tenses are formed on the "present" stem: present, imperfect, subjunctive, and imperative, e.g. *trabajo* "I work, I'm working"; *trabajaba* "I used to work", *trabaje* "[that] I work", *¡Trabaja!* "Work!". On the "future" stem are formed the future and conditional: e.g. *trabajaré* "I shall work", *trabajaría* "I should work"; and on the "preterite" stem three tenses, the preterite (past absolute) and two past subjunctives: e.g., on *decir* "to say", there stem *dije* "I said", *diciese* and *diciera* "[that] I said". A certain number of verbs show fairly clearly patterned irregularities in the root-syllable, with diphthongs taking the place of simple vowels under certain conditions, or with other types of alternations between vowels: e.g. *sentir* "to feel", with the present tense *siento* "I feel", 2nd sg. *sientes* "you feel", *siente* "he feels", *sentimos* "we feel", 2nd pl. *sentís* "you feel", *sienten* "they feel"; and *sintió* "he felt", *sintieron* "they felt" (preterite).

5. Although the orthography, phonology, and morphology of Spanish are relatively regular (justifying somewhat the popular notion that Spanish is an "easy" language, but only as applied to these levels), its syntax is quite complicated, with many subtleties of relationship between forms. As in Italian and the other conservative Romance languages (but not French), the syntactic kernel of the ordinary sentence is a verb alone, which contains its own indication of the person and number of the actor, and may occur with or without a subject: e.g. *trabaja* "he, she, it works"; *El bracero trabaja* "The day-laborer works". The only agreements required are those between adjectives and the nouns they modify; subject and verb; and subject and predicate complement, as in *las muchachas bonitas* "the pretty girls", *Las muchachas trabajan* "The girls work", and *Las muchachas son bonitas* "The girls are pretty". However, unlike French and Italian, Spanish does not require agreement of a past participle in a perfect phrase with any object, preceding or following: e.g. *La he visto* "I have seen her". Also unlike French and Italian, Spanish uses only the verb *haber* as an auxiliary in the perfect phrase: *he trabajado* "I have worked", *he ido* "I have gone". There is great flexibility in the use of the sub-

junctive; there are relatively few situations in which its occurrence is automatic, and many in which the choice of subjunctive as opposed to indicative is significant: e.g. *aunque trabaja* "although he works" versus *aunque trabaje* "although he may work".

6. Great literature written in Spanish is concentrated mainly in two periods: the so-called *Siglo de Oro* or "Golden Age" (late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) and the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The incomplete epic *Cantar de Myo Çid* ("*Poem of the Cid*", ca. 1100) is the greatest work of mediaeval Spanish literature, comparable to the *Song of Roland* (p. 143). The satirical anti-chivalric novel *Don Quixote*, by Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616), is universally recognized as one of the eight or ten masterpieces of world literature. Second only to the *Quixote* are the dramas of Lope de Vega (1562–1635), Tirso de Molina (ca. 1571–1648), and Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681). In the nineteenth century, Spain produced a number of outstanding novelists, such as Benito Pérez Galdós (1843–1920), Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851–1921), Juan Valera (1824–1905), and Pedro de Alarcón (1833–1891); in the twentieth, such novelists as Vicente Blasco Ibáñez (1867–1928) and Camilo José Cela (1916–). Spain's great lyric poets have ranged from Garcilaso de la Vega (1503–1536) to Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer (1836–1870) and Federico García Lorca (ca. 1898–1936). Spanish philosophers are among the greatest of modern times, including Miguel de Unamuno (1864–1936) and José Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955). Spanish America has produced a number of outstanding writers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially the Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío (1867–1916) and the Peruvian novelist Ciro Alegría (1909–).

7. Spanish is of course essential for any extended contact with the peoples of Spain and Spanish America; its commercial uses have, in popular lore, been greatly overvalued. It is also useful for specialists in certain types of medicine (e.g. tropical diseases) and for social scientists, especially those interested in problems of modernization

(since much of the sharpest conflict between traditional and modern cultures has taken place in Spanish America).

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5. PORTUGUESE

1. Portuguese is used in peninsular Portugal; in the present or former colonies of the Portuguese empire; and in Brazil. The latter, although the only Latin American country in which Portuguese is the national language, is the largest country in South America and has a population of ca. 70,800,000. In Portugal, the usage of Lisbon is dominant; in Brazil, that of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

2–3. The spelling of Portuguese is nearly as regular as that of Spanish, although, since the phonology is somewhat more complicated, the orthography uses more special devices. The grave accent is used to mark open vowels, the circumflex to mark close vowels; palatal consonants are indicated with *lh* and *nh* for /ʎ/ and /ɲ/, respectively (instead of with *ll* and *ñ*, as in Spanish; cf. p. 145). Portuguese has seven, instead of five, vowel phonemes: /i e ɛ a ɔ o u/, of which all but /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ occur also nasalized: /ĩ ẽ ã õ ũ/. It does not have /θ/ or /x/, as does Spanish but has /v/ contrasting with both /f/ and /b/ (as in *bem* /bẽ/ "well" versus *vem* /vẽ/ "he comes"), and has the palatal sibilants /š/ and /ž/.

4–5. Portuguese morphology has essentially the same structure as does that of Spanish, though with numerous differences in detail, especially in the presence of many more minor irregularities, such as the plural of nouns in *-ão* /ãu/, e.g. *direcção* /direksãu/ "direction" ~ *direcções* /direksõis/ "directions". In addition to the tenses mentioned under Spanish, Portuguese has the so-called

"personal infinitive" (really a timeless tense built on the "future stem"), e.g. *ter* /tér/ "to have", with *terem* /térẽ/ "for me to have" etc.; and a so-called "future subjunctive" (really a present built on the "preterite" stem), as in *tiverem* /tivérẽ/ "[that] I might have". Portuguese syntax is fairly similar to that of Spanish, again with many minor differences in detail, such as the Portuguese use of *ter* /tér/ "to have" as a perfect-tense auxiliary corresponding to Spanish *haber:* e.g. *tenho jantado* /téɲužātádu/ "I have lunched".

6. Portuguese literature has a number of important lyric poets from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance; during this period, the language of western Iberia, Galician-Portuguese, was the standard for lyric poetry, and many Spanish poets wrote their lyrics in this language. The epic poem *Os Lusiadas* /uzluzíadas/ (*"The Lusiads"*) of Luiz Vaz de Camoëns (1524–1580), describing the voyage of Vasco da Gama to India, was the only truly living epic poem of the Renaissance. Brazil has had a number of outstanding novelists and poets, chief among whom is Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis (1839–1908).

7. The practical importance of Portuguese is far greater than is customarily realized, since Brazil is a crucial country in the present and future development of South America. There is great need for many more Americans to study Portuguese than have ever done so before, for the sake of future contacts and understanding between the United States and Brazil, as well as for purely commercial considerations.

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6. ITALIAN

1. Italian is the national language of Italy and one of the four national languages of Switzerland, and is also used widely in former Italian colonies and in the eastern end of the Mediterranean. It is still spoken extensively among Italian immigrants and their descendants in North and South America. The speech of Florence was formerly regarded as "the best Italian", but this attitude no longer

prevails except in Florence. There are a number of regional standards currently dominant, especially those of Milan and Rome.

2. The Italian alphabet uses *w*, *x*, and *y* only in foreign words, and the other twenty-three letters of the Roman alphabet in indigenous Italian words. Italian spelling is very largely phonemically based, but does not make certain distinctions which are significant in pronunciation, especially that between close and open *e* and *o*, and the contrast between voiceless *z* [tˢ] and voiced *z* [dˢ]. The only accent-marks in regular use are the grave ` and (by some, but not all, writers and printers) the acute ´, whose principal use is to mark the close variety of *e* and *o* (see below). Stress is required to be indicated, by use of an accent-mark, only in words stressed on the last syllable (e.g. *città* /čittáˣ/ "city"), and in certain stressed monosyllables which are homonymous with unstressed monosyllables of different meaning, such as *è* /éˣ/ "he, she, it is" versus *e* /eˣ/ "and". Elsewhere, stress is not normally marked except in dictionaries and grammar-books.

3. There are seven stressed vowel phonemes in Italian: /i e ɛ a ɔ o u/. The semi-vowels [j] and [w] are allophones of /i/ and /u/, respectively, as in *tiene* /tiéne/ ['tjɛ:ne] "he holds", *buono* /buɔ́no/ ['bwɔ:no] "good". Also allophonic is the lengthening of all stressed vowels in a non-final free syllable, as in the examples just given. Consonant phonemes are: /p t k b d g f v c ʒ č ǧ s š m n ɲ l ʎ r/; /c/ is phonetically [tˢ], /ʒ/ is [dˢ]. Italian has certain consonant-clusters which are relatively rare in other languages, especially /s/ before virtually any consonant, including voiced: e.g. *sdentato* /sdentáto/ [zdɛn'ta:to] "toothless". The palatal consonants /s ʎ ɲ/, when intervocalic, occur only long; all other consonants can occur both short and long between vowels, as in *fato* /fáto/ "fate" versus *fatto* /fátto/ "done". A phenomenon peculiar to Italian among the modern standard Romance languages is the automatic doubling of a word-initial consonant after certain words which, when pronounced in isolation, seem to end in a vowel. This phenomenon, known as *syntactic doubling*, is not normally represented in conventional spelling, but is

very wide-spread in both inflection and syntactic combinations. We represent it by /ˣ/ in our transcription: thus /kantɔ́/ *cantò* "he sang" + /béne/ *bene* "well" → /kantɔ́bbéne/ *Cantò bene* "He sang well".

Stress is significant, and can occur on any syllable between the fourth from the end and the last: e.g. *càpitano* /kápitano/ "they arrive", *sdrúcciolo* /sdrúččolo/ "slippery", *mano* /máno/ "hand", *tribù* /tribúˣ/ "tribe". Intermediate stress (between strong and weak) is found only in certain types of compounds, such as *temperamatite* /tèmpera-matíte/ "pencil-sharpener". Intonation is of the same basic type as that of French, with directions of pitch rather than pitch-levels as the significant elements: gradual-rising, sharp-rising, rising-falling, falling, level.

4. Italian inflection is like that of Spanish and French in depending entirely on suffixation, but makes use, especially in substantives, of change in final vowel: e.g. *matita* "pencil", plural *matite* "pencils". The categories of inflection are those of the Romance languages in general: number (singular versus plural), gender (masculine versus feminine), case (only in pronouns: nominative, genitive-dative, accusative), person (first, second, third), and tense (past, non-past ["present"], timeless ["subjunctive"], imperative). Nouns fall into five principal subcategories or declensions, according to the final vowel in the singular: *casa* "house", *libro* "book", *atlante* "atlas", *crisi* "crisis", and *album* "album". The plural-formation of nouns is basically regular, with a fair number of subclasses and exceptions of various kinds: for the nouns given in the previous sentence, the plurals are *case, libri, atlanti, crisi,* and *albums;* but for about thirty nouns like m. sg. *il braccio* "the arm", the plural is feminine and ends in *-a,* like *le braccia* "the arms". Almost all adjectives follow either the first and second declensions (as does m. sg. *buono* "good", with f. sg. *buona,* m. pl. *buoni,* f. pl. *buone*), or the third (as does *felice* "happy", pl. *felici*)—again, with a few exceptions, like *pari* "equal", with one form for masculine and feminine, singular and plural.

Italian pronoun-inflection is rather more complicated than that of the other West Romance languages, showing

a number of special forms for use, not only as subjects and objects of verbs or after prepositions, but also with dative and possessive meaning. Thus, for the first person singular, Italian has *io* "I" (subject), *mi* "me" unstressed (direct or indirect object of verb) and *me* "me" stressed (object of verb or after preposition); but for the third person singular masculine, there are two stressed forms, *egli* /éʎʎi/ "he" and *lui* "he, him" in addition to the unstressed indirect object form *gli* /ʎi/ "to him" and the unstressed direct object-form *lo* "him". The stressed third person plural pronoun *loro* "they, them, to them, of them" functions in all case-relationships, and is a kind of factotum or Figaro among pronouns.

Direct address is quite complicated in Italian, with the usual familiar form (2nd sing. *tu* and related forms, 2nd pl. *voi* and related forms) for use where there is no social barrier between the speakers, and with two competing types of address where there is a barrier. The older usage, still surviving in many parts of southern Italy, is the use of *voi* (with second person plural agreement) as a polite form of address to one person, as in *Siete stanco?* "Are you tired?" More recent, and still spreading (especially since the Second World War), is the use of the third person singular pronoun *Lei* and the corresponding plural *Loro*, with third person agreement (syntactically parallel to Spanish *Usted* and *Ustedes*, cf. p. 146): e. g. sg. *È stanco* (*Lei*)? "Are you tired?"; pl. *Sono stanchi* (*Loro*)? "Are you tired?"

Italian verbs show, as usual in Romance, three conjugations: first (characteristic vowel *-a-*), e.g. *mandare* "to send"; second (*-i-*), e.g. *dormire* "to sleep"; third (*-e-*), some with stressed *-ére* in the infinitive, like *vedere* "to see", and others with stress on the syllable preceding *-ere* of the infinitive, such as *véndere* "to sell". It has the same stem- and tense-system as Spanish (cf. pp. 146–147), but with only one past subjunctive form: thus, on the "present" stem of a verb like *dire* "to say", root *dic-* (/dič/ alternating with /dik/), we find the second person singular forms *dici* "you say", *dicevi* "you were saying", *dica* "[that] you say", *di'* /diˣ/ "Say!"; on the "future" stem *dir-* (=

dic- with loss of the final consonant before *-r-* of the stem), *dirai* "you will say" and *diresti* "you would say"; and on the "preterite" stem, the third person singular forms *disse* "he said" and *dicesse* "[that] he said".[34] There are numerous individual irregularities scattered throughout the conjugations of some verbs.

5. Italian syntax is of the conservative Romance type, with a single verb as the kernel of a normal sentence, which can be expanded to include a subject which amplifies the person- and number-reference of the verb itself: e.g. *viene* "he is coming", *Viene domani* "He's coming tomorrow", *Mio padre viene domani* "My father's coming tomorrow". Agreement is required between adjective and noun, between subject and predicate, and between subject and predicate adjective or predicate noun, as in *Le studentesse italiane sono intelligenti* "Italian girl-students are intelligent". In addition, it is required in perfect phrases constructed with *avere* as inherent auxiliary (see below) when the direct object is a third person unstressed (conjunctive) pronoun, as in *Le ho viste* "I've seen them [f. pl.]", or a reflexive conjunctive pronoun, whether direct or indirect object, as in *Mi sono pettinata*[35] "I [f.] have combed myself" or *Si è comprata un cappello* "She has bought herself a hat". With other types of conjunctive elements, the past participle in this type of perfect phrase may agree or not with the direct object, at the discretion of the speaker: e.g. *Ci ha sorpassato* (or *sorpassate*) "He has passed us [f.]"; *Ne abbiamo mangiato* (or *mangiate*) "We have eaten some of them [i.e. *delle pere* "some pears"]"; *la casa che abbiamo comprata* (or *comprato*) "the house which we have bought".

Italian perfect phrases, like those of French, are con-

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[34] We use the third person singular forms in these two tenses because the special preterite stem *diss-* does not appear at all in the 2nd sg. *dicesti* "you said".

[35] In sentences like this, the auxiliary *avere* is automatically replaced by *èssere* "to be" as a result of the presence of the reflexive element; but the agreement of the past participle remains unchanged.

structed with either *avere* "to have" or *èssere* "to be" as auxiliary. Certain verbs (rather more than in French) take *èssere* (to be) "inherently", such as *andare* "to go" or *venire* "to come": e.g. f. *sono andata* "I have gone", whereas most verbs take *avere* (to have) "inherently": e.g. m. or f. *ho camminato* "I have walked". The subjunctive is used more extensively than in French, but rather less so than in Spanish; the past subjunctive is still very much alive, both in dependent clauses (e.g. *Voleva che venisse* "He wanted me to come", literally "He wanted that I should come") and in independent sentences, such as *Venisse pure!* "If only he would come!".

6. Italian literature has alternated between periods of greatness and of marked decline. In the Middle Ages, its three outstanding writers were Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), Francesco Petrarca, or Petrarch (1304–1375), and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375); the first is world-famous for his long poem *La Divina Commedia* ("*The Divine Comedy*"), the second for his lyric poems in honor of his lady Laura, and the third for the hundred short stories collected in his *Decameron*. The second great period of Italian Literature was the Renaissance (sixteenth century), with such great political thinkers as Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) and such writers of long narrative poems of chivalry as Lodovico Ariosto (1474–1533), the author of *Orlando Furioso* ("*Roland Insane*"), and Torquato Tasso (1544–1595), author of the *Gerusalemme Liberata* ("*Jerusalem Freed*"). In the nineteenth century, the two greatest Italian authors were Alessandro Manzoni (1785–1873), with his novel *I Promessi Sposi* ("*The Betrothed*") and Giacomo Leopardi (1798–1837), foremost among Romantic poets. Present-day Italian literature continues the long-established tradition of attention to elegance of form and to dramatic intensity of conflict, rather than to psychological analysis.

7. At one time, Italian was widely used in the eastern Mediterranean as a lingua franca; although it is not so wide-spread as formerly, it is still helpful in many parts of the Mediterranean. In recent decades, an increasing num-

ber of scientific works have been written in Italian, and in classical studies it has taken the place of German as the major language of scholarly publication.

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7. GERMAN

1. German is the national language of Germany and Austria, and is one of the four national languages of Switzerland. It is also spoken by a majority of the inhabitants of south Tyrol ("Upper Adige") in Italy, by a large part of the population in the French regions of Alsace and Lorraine, and in parts of Hungary and Romania. Speakers of German have largely been deported from regions of Poland and Russia and Czechoslovakia which they used to inhabit. There are German-speaking groups in certain parts of the United States (especially eastern Pennsylvania and Wisconsin) and of South America (notably Brazil). There is no real single standard for usage in German, although lip-service is often paid to an artificial *Bühnendeutsch* or stage German; in reality, there are a number of regional standards, as there are in American English.

2. The orthography of German uses the twenty-four letters of the Roman alphabet, plus the diaeresis or "umlaut"-mark ¨ . An earlier type of alphabet, with letters corresponding to the Roman alphabet but of markedly different shape in both printed and hand-written form, the *Fraktur*, is no longer used in modern books, but was normal before the Second World War. Nouns or other parts of speech functioning as nouns are capitalized: e.g. *das Haus* "the house". Compounds, no matter how long, are written together without spaces or hyphens between their elements: e.g. *Hauptbahnhof* "main railway-station". Stress is not indicated by accent-marks except in a few words borrowed

from French or other languages, such as *café*.

3. The sound-system of German includes seven vowels, each of which can occur short or long: /i e y œ a o u i: e: y: œ: a: o: u:/. A long low front unrounded vowel /æ:/ is prescribed for *Bühnendeutsch*, as in *Zähne* /tsæ:ne/ "teeth", but this phoneme is rarely used in normal everyday speech. German has only one semi-vowel, /j/, and the consonants /p t k b d g f x v s ʃ z m n ŋ l r h/. Certain German consonant-clusters have no counter-part in English, e.g. /pf-/, /ʃp-/, /ʃt-/, as in *Pferd* /pfé:rt/ "horse", *sprechen* /ʃpréxen/ "to speak". The voiced consonants /b d g v z/ are automatically unvoiced at the end of a word (although their spelling does not change), as in *Kalb* /kálp/ "calf", *Tag* /ták/ "day"; this unvoicing takes place in compounds as well as in single words, as in *Waldhütte* /vált+hỳte/ "forest-hut". This last word exemplifies the three stress-levels of German—full, intermediate, and weak; German stress and juncture are very similar to those of English. German intonation rests on a basis of four different levels of pitch, as does that of English, but its patterns are frequently different, and the range of pitch in German (especially Austrian) speech is much wider than in English.

4. Among the present-day West Germanic languages, German preserves perhaps the most complicated inflectional system. Its nouns, adjectives, and pronouns have four cases (nominative, genitive [possessive], dative, and accusative), three genders (masculine, neuter [a subdivision of the masculine], and feminine), and the usual two numbers (singular and plural). Sample declensions of three nouns (m. *der Kopf* "the head", n. *das Haus* "the house", f. *die Feder* "the pen") follow:

Case	Singular		
nom.	*der Kopf* "the head"	*das Haus* "the house"	*die Feder* "the pen"
gen.	*des Kopfes* "of the head"	*des Hauses* "of the house"	*der Feder* "of the pen"
dat.	*dem Kopfe* "to the head"	*dem Hause* "to the house"	*der Feder* "to the pen"
acc.	*den Kopf* "the head"	*das Haus* "the house"	*die Feder* "the pen"

Case		Plural	
nom., acc.	*die Köpfe* "the heads"	*die Häuser* "the houses"	*die Federn* "the pens"
gen.	*der Köpfe* "of the heads"	*der Häuser* "of the houses"	*der Federn* "of the pens"
dat.	*den Köpfen* "to the heads"	*den Häusern* "to the houses"	*den Federn* "to the pens"

Adjectives have two sets of endings, those having to a large extent the characteristic endings of the definite article and those not having them. The use of the two sets depends on the presence or absence of the definite article: e.g. *der gute Mann* "the good man" (with *weak* ending, since *-er* is present in the definite article) but *ein guter Mann* "a good man" (*strong* ending, since *-er* is not present in the indefinite article). For direct address, German has the second person singular pronoun *du* and related forms, and the second person plural pronoun *ihr*, etc.; these are used only with intimates, and for non-intimates the third person plural pronoun *Sie* is used, with third person plural agreement.

Each German verb has five simple tenses, characterized by a two-way distinction between past and non-past ("present") and between indicative and "subjunctive", giving the present indicative, present subjunctive, past indicative, and past subjunctive, plus an imperative. Each tense has a full set of six forms, differentiated for three persons and two numbers (except that the imperative has only second person singular and plural). The formation of the past tense is basically similar to that of English, with some verbs called *weak* adding a suffix without change in the root (e.g. *ich arbeite* "I work", *ich arbeitete* "I worked"), and others called *strong* showing a change in the vowel of the root (*ich singe* "I sing", *ich sang* "I sang"). The past participle is formed for weak verbs by adding *-(e)t*, and for strong verbs by adding *-en* (often to a form of the root with vowel-replacement); at the same time, the prefix *ge-* is normally added to all verbs except those beginning with an inseparable prefix: e.g. *singen* "to sing", *gesungen* "sung"; *arbeiten* "to work", *gearbeitet* "worked"; *besetzen* "to occupy", *besetzt* "occupied". Sample tenses of *arbeiten* "to work" and *singen* "to sing":

Present

ich arbeite "I work"
du arbeitest "you work"
er arbeitet "he works"

wir arbeiten "we work"
ihr arbeitet "you work"
sie arbeiten "they work"

ich singe "I sing"
du singst "you sing"
er singt "he sings"

wir singen "we sing"
ihr singet "you sing"
sie singen "they sing"

Past

ich arbeitete "I worked"
du arbeitetest "you worked"
er arbeitete "he worked"

wir arbeiteten "we worked"
ihr arbeitetet "you worked"
sie arbeiteten "they worked"

ich sang "I sang"
du sangst "you sang"
er sang "he sang"

wir sangen "we sang"
ihr sanget "you sang"
sie sangen "they sang"

5. In its basic outlines, German syntax is much like that of English. Extensive agreement (and, in the case of modifying adjectives, a choice between two types of inflection; cf. p. 158) is required between a noun and its modifiers, and a subject and its verb, but not between a subject and its predicate complement: e.g. *Die deutschen Mädels sind hübsch* "German girls are pretty". As in English, verbs have several types of phrasal constructions: passive, with the auxiliary *werden* "to become, get" and the past participle, as in *Er wird getötet* "He gets killed"; perfect, with the auxiliaries *sein* "to be" (for verbs of motion) or *haben* "to have" (for other verbs) with past participle, e.g. *er ist gegangen* "he has gone", *wir haben gearbeitet* "we have worked"; and modal, with any one of a number of special verbs like *wollen* "to wish", *mögen* "to like to", *können* "to be able to", with the infinitive, as in *Er kann schwimmen* "He can swim". Combinations of two or more auxiliaries have quite complicated order, as in *Er ist getötet worden* "He has gotten killed" or *Er hat schwimmen können* "He has been able to swim".

The fundamental sentence-kernel is the same as that of English: SUBJECT (noun or pronoun) + VERB. Underlying German word-order are three principles, one of which is by now antiquated and the others of which are unknown in English. The verb must always be the second element in the sentence (not counting introductory or connective words like *und* "and", *aber* "but", *denn* "for", or sub-

ordinating elements); the subject is always inverted and placed after the verb, therefore, when some other element precedes the verb: e.g. *Ich bin hier* "I am here", but *Hier bin ich* "Here am I"; *Ich habe gestern ein gutes Buch gelesen* "I read a good book yesterday", but *Gestern habe ich ein gutes Buch gelesen* "Yesterday I read [literally "read I"] a good book". Elements modifying a past participle (including direct and indirect objects) precede it, as in the example given in the preceding sentence; if a separable prefix (normally an adverb like *zusammen* "together" or *durch* "through") accompanies the past participle, it precedes in accordance with this principle and is normally written together with it, e.g. *durchgeschnitten* "cut through". In dependent clauses, the inflected verb-form normally comes at the end of the clause: *Er singt ein Lied* "He sings a song", but *Es ist gut, daß er ein Lied singt* "It's good that he sings a song"; *er ist gekommen* "he has come", but *obgleich er gekommen ist* "although he has come".

6. The outstanding productions of mediaeval German literature were the epic poem *Das Nibelungenlied* (*"The Song of the Nibelungen"*, early thirteenth century) and the lyric poetry of the Minnesänger or "singers of love", chief of whom was Walther von der Vogelweide (ca. 1170–ca. 1230). Among the works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the comedies of the Nürnberg cobbler-poet Hans Sachs (1494–1576) and the picaresque novel *Simplicissimus* by H. J. C. von Grimmelshausen (ca. 1625–1676) are the most important. The "classical" period of German literature was in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, with the trio Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), and Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805); Goethe's lyric poems and his poetic drama *Faust* and Schiller's plays, particularly *Wilhelm Tell* (1804), are among the masterpieces of world literature. Scarcely less important are the poems and novels of the German Romantic poets of the early nineteenth century, particularly those of Heinrich Heine (1797–1856). The rest of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century have wit-

nessed a large out-put on the part of German authors, with many outstanding novels, dramas, and poems.

7. German had, during the nineteenth century, the reputation of being the language of scientific communication *par excellence;* although it has lost this absolute predominance, it is still widely used for publishing research and abstracts. It is also extensively understood and spoken in northern and eastern Europe, both as a language of culture and as a *lingua franca* for commerce and travel.

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8. RUSSIAN

1. Russian is the official language of the Soviet Union (U.S.S.R.), and the native language of the majority of that country's citizens. It is also the mother tongue of a number of émigré groups in Western Europe and North America. The standard usage is that of Moscow, but there are a number of regional variations within the standard range.

2. The Russian alphabet, known as the Cyrillic,[36] has thirty-two letters, given on page 162 with their usual transliteration into Roman characters.

In general, the Russian alphabet is morphophonemic, i.e. it represents the underlying form of words, even though certain phonemes, when unstressed, are replaced by others (cf. below), as in город /górat/ "city". The letter е may stand for both /é/ and /ó/ after a palatalized consonant, as in нет /ńét/ "no" versus Хрущев /xruščóf/ "Khrushchev"; to clarify this confusion, text-books and diction-

[36]Named after St. Cyril, who, with his colleague St. Methodius, was invited to Moravia to develop a system of writing the Eastern (Greek) liturgy in the Slavic languages, based primarily on the Greek alphabet (cf. p. 135).

aries often write a diaeresis ¨ over the letter *e* when it stands for /ó/, e.g. Хрущёв, but this practice is not normal in ordinary Russian writing. Stress, likewise, is indicated with an acute accent ′ only in dictionaries and books intended for foreigners at an elementary level.

Capital	Small	Roman	Capital	Small	Roman
А	а	*a*	С	с	*s*
Б	б	*b*	Т	т	*t*
В	в	*v*	У	у	*u*
Г	г	*g*	Ф	ф	*f*
Д	д	*d*	Х	х	*x* or *kh*
Е	е	*e*	Ц	ц	*c* or *ts*
З	з	*z*	Ч	ч	*č* or *ch*
Ж	ж	*ž*	Ш	ш	*š* or *sh*
И	и	*i*	Щ	щ	*šč* or *shch*
Й	й	*j* or *ĭ*	Ъ	ъ	"hard sign"
К	к	*k*			or ″
Л	л	*l*	Ь	ь	"soft sign"
М	м	*m*			or ′
Н	н	*n*	Ы	ы	*y* or *ĭ*
О	о	*o*	Э	э	*e*
П	п	*p*	Ю	ю	*ju*
Р	р	*r*	Я	я	*ja* or *ä*

3. Russian phonology has fewer vowel-phonemes and more consonant-phonemes than might be deduced from its writing-system, although this latter gives them adequate representation by various combinations of letters. There are fifteen consonants which occur both non-palatalized ("plain") and palatalized (i.e. with the top front surface of the tongue raised towards the upper front teeth and palate): /p t k b d g f s x v z m n l r/ plain, and /p̩ t̩ k̩ b̩ d̩ g̩ f̩ s̩ x̩ v̩ z̩ m̩ n̩ l̩ r̩/ palatalized.[37] Normally, the palatalized and non-palatalized consonants in these series are written with the same letters (e.g. п = /p/ and /p̩/), and the difference between them is shown by the choice of following vowel-letter or (at the end of a word) by the

[37] The impressionistic terms *hard* and *soft* are widely used for non-palatalized and palatalized, respectively.

addition of the "soft sign" ь, as in играть /igráṭ/ "to play". Three consonants occur only plain: /c/ [ts], /s/, and /z/; and three occur only palatalized: /č šč j/. Russian has a number of consonant-clusters unfamiliar to speakers of English: e.g. /gv-/ as in гвоздь /gvóṣṭ/ "nail", /mr-/ as in мрак /mrák/ "gloom", or /nr-/ as in нравиться /nrávitsa/ "it pleases". At the end of a word, the voiceless member of a pair of voiced but voiceless consonants is automatically devoiced, as in German (cf. p. 157): e.g. город /górat/ "city" (stem /gorod/-).

There are five vowel-phonemes: /i e a o u/, which have allophonic variations according to the preceding and/or following consonants, as shown in the following table:

Phoneme	Allophones, Spelling, and Examples	
	After Palatalized Consonant	After Non-Palatalized Consonant
/i/	[i] и: книга /kṇíga/ "book"	[ɨ] ы: язык /jizík/ "language"
/a/	[æ] я /ja/: пять /paṭ/ "five"	[a] а: да /dá/ "yes"
/o/	[o] е(ё): сестры /ṣóstri/ "sisters"	[o] о: тоже /tóži/ "also"
/u/	[u] ю /ju/: говорю /gavaṛú/ "I speak"	[u] у: будет /búḍit/ "will be"
	Before Palatalized Consonant	Before Non-Palatalized Consonant
/e/	[e^] е: дети /ḍéṭi/ "children"	[ɛ] е: нет /ṇét/ "no"

The vowel-phoneme /e/, at the beginning of a word, is written э, as in это /éta/ "this". When unstressed, various shifts of vowel-phonemes and their allophones occur. Following a plain consonant, before a stressed syllable, /a/ is close to the [ʌ] of English *mother*, and after a stressed syllable it is close to the [ə] of the second syllable of *sofa*, as in спасибо /spaṣíba [spʌ'sibə] "thanks"; and /o/ is replaced by /a/, as in много /mnóga/ "many". After palatalized consonants, /e/ and /a/ unstressed become /i/: e.g. его /jivó/ "his"; занят /záṇit/ "busy".

Stress is significant in Russian, and often moves from one syllable to another in inflectional paradigms, e.g. sg. nom. город /górat/ "city", but pl. nom. города /garadá/ "cities". Intonation involves several different levels of pitch, but with markedly different sequences from those of English.

4. Russian morphology is characterized by considerable complication in nouns and adjectives, but by relative simplicity in the inflected forms of verbs. There are six cases (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, and locative), three genders (masculine, neuter, feminine), and two numbers (singular and plural). Nouns fall into several classes (declensions) and subclasses according to the vowel which follows the noun-stem and according to the stress-pattern manifested, and they also distinguish animate from inanimate. Sample declensions of two nouns:

Case	Singular		
	Masculine		Feminine
nom.	труд	/trúd/ "work"	рука /ruká/ "a hand"
gen.	труда	/trudá/ "of work"	руки /ruḳí/ "of a hand"
dat.	труду	/trudú/ "to work"	руке /ruḳé/ "to a hand"
acc.	труд	/trúd/ "work"	руку /rúku/ "a hand"
instr.	трудом	/trudóm/ "with work"	рукой /rukój/ "with a hand"
loc.	труде	/truḍé/ "in work"	руке /ruḳé/ "in a hand"

Case	Plural		
nom.	труды	/trudí/ "works"	руки /rúḳi/ "hands"
gen.	трудов	/trudóf/ "of works"	рук /rúk/ "of hands"
dat.	трудам	/trudám/ "to works"	рукам /rukám/ "to hands"
acc.	труды	/trudí/ "works"	руки /rúḳi/ "hands"
instr.	трудами	/trudámi/ "with works"	руками /rukámi/ "with hands"
loc.	трудах	/trudáx/ "in works"	руках /rukáx/ "in hands"

Adjectives have two sets of forms, one (which manifests only number and gender, but not case) for use in predicate-complement-position, and the other, inflected for case as well, used when modifying nouns. Of the numerals, один /aḍín/ "one" has the inflection of a singular adjective; два /dvá/ "two", три /tṛí/ "three", and четыре /čitíṛi/ "four" are similar in inflection to plural adjectives; and a number of higher numerals have that of feminine nouns.

Verbs have only one set of forms inflected for person

and number, the "present" (non-past), as in the following sample paradigm of говорить /gavaṛíṭ/ "to speak":

		Singular	
я говорю		/já gavaṛú/ "I speak"	
ты говоришь		/tí gavaṛíš/ "you speak"	
он она оно	говорит	/ón /aná /anó	gavaṛít/ "he, she, it speaks"
		Plural	
мы говорим		/mí gavaṛím/ "we speak"	
вы говорите		/ví gavaṛíṭi/ "you speak"	
они говорят		/aṇí gavaṛát/ "they speak"	

There are a certain number of alterations in the root of Russian verbs before the endings of the present, as in жить /žít/ "to live", but живут /živút/ "they live"; and some irregularities in stress.

The forms usually called "past tense" in grammar-books are participles, inflected not for person but for gender and number: e.g. on the verb говорить /gavaṛíṭ/ "to speak", the four forms m. sg. говорил /gavaṛíl/, f. sg. говорила /gavaṛíla/, n. sg. говорило /gavaṛíla/, and pl. говорили /gavaṛíli/, all "spoke". Here, too, there are a certain number of irregularities in stems and in stress.

One of the major features distinguishing Russian verbs from those of West European languages is *aspect*, a difference in form indicating not the time at which an action is performed, but the way in which it is performed, especially whether it is finished (*perfective*) or not (*imperfective*) (cf. p. 13). In English, differences in aspect are indicated by certain types of phrases, e.g. *he was writing* (continuative, imperfective) versus *he wrote* or *he did write* (punctual, perfective). In Russian, they are indicated by differences in form, normally between two pairs of verbs (one imperfective, the other perfective), standing in a derivational relationship to each other, i.e. the one derived from the other, usually by addition of a prefix. Thus, on

смотреть /smaṭṛéṭ/ "to look" (imperfective), the perfective is посмотреть /pasmaṭṛéṭ/ "to look [and finish looking]". In the past, the contrast of tense-reference in the two aspects is roughly comparable to that in the English examples given above: e.g. Он писал письмо /ón pisál piṣmó/ "He was writing a letter, used to write a letter" versus Он написал письмо /ón napisál piṣmó/ "He wrote a letter [and finished it]". In the non-past, the imperfect aspect refers to present time (including the future), but the perfective aspect refers to completion in the future: я пишу /já ṗišú/ "I'm writing", but я напишу /já naṗišú/ "I shall write [and finish writing]".

5. The structure of Russian phrases is basically similar to that of the other Indo-European languages, although with a certain number of relatively minor complications. For instance, noun-phrases formed with numerals require different types of agreements depending on the numeral involved: with один /aḍín/ "one", the numeral is treated as a modifying adjective, e.g. один человек /aḍín čilaẏék/ "one man"; with два /dvá/ "two", три /tṛí/ "three", and четыре /čitíṛi/ "four", an accompanying noun is treated as a modifier, in the genitive singular, e.g. три студента /tṛí stuḍénta/ "three students [literally "three of-students"]"; and a number of higher numerals require the accompanying noun to be in the genitive plural, e.g. шесть студентов /šéṣṭ stuḍéntaf/ "six students [literally "six of-students"]". The genitive is widely used in partitive sense, especially with negatives: e.g. У моего брата нет книг /u majevó bráta ṇét kṇíg/ "My brother doesn't have any books [literally "By my brother [there is] not of-books"]"; Ничего нет /ṇičivó ṇét/ "There isn't anything [literally "Of-nothing [there is] not"]".

The normal sentence-kernel is SUBJECT + PREDICATE; this latter may have as its main element either a verb, a noun, an adjective, or an adverb (or a phrase equivalent to any of these): e.g. он работает /ón rabatájet/ "he is working"; Она доктор /aná dóktar/ "She [is] a doctor"; Это хорошо /éta xarašó/ "That [is] fine"; Он здесь /ón zḍéṣ/ "He [is] here". The verb быть /bíṭ/ "to be" is normally replaced by zero in the imperfective non-past,

thereby producing predicates without any verb (examples above). Although the Russian verb shows the person and number of the actor in its endings, the personal pronouns are normally used along with the verb: e.g. я вижу /já ɣížu/ "I see"; Они не знают /aní ni znájut/ "They don't know". The normal sentence-order is SUBJECT + VERB + OBJECT or COMPLEMENT(S): e.g. Я пишу статьи и книги /já pišú statjí i knígi/ "I write articles and books". The accusative is replaced by the genitive if the direct object refers to a person, e.g. Я хочу там встретить моего друга /já xačú tám fstrétit majevó drúga/ "I want to meet my friend there"; or, optionally, if the sentence is negative, e.g. Я не знаю эту девушку /já ni znáju étu dévušku/ "I don't know this girl [acc.]" or Я не знаю этой девушки /já ni znáju étaj dévuški/ "I don't know this girl [gen.]". Variations in word-order serve to indicate different emphasis: e.g. Там, говорят, будет жить примерно двести студентов /tám, gavarát, búdit žit primérna dvésti studéntaf/ "There, they say, will live about two hundred students".

6. Of mediaeval Russian literature, the only widely-known work is the epic of Prince Igor (late twelfth century). Modern literature is usually considered to have begun in the nineteenth century. The most famous Russian poet was Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837), author of lyrics and of the long poem *Eugene Onegin* and the drama *Boris Godunov*. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, several Russian novelists led the world in the development of new techniques of story-telling and psychological analysis: Nikolai Gogol (1809–1852), author of *The Cloak* and *Dead Souls*, as well as of the comedy *The Inspector General;* Ivan Turgenev (1818–1883), author of *Fathers and Children;* Count Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910), whose *War and Peace* is by some considered the world's greatest novel; and Fyodor Dostoyevskiĭ (1821–1881), with his four famous novels *Crime and Punishment, The Idiot, The Devils,* and *The Brothers Karamazov*. Russian drama of the turn of the century also exerted world-wide influence, as in *The Sea-Gull, Uncle Vanya, The Three Sisters,* and *The Cherry Orchard* of Anton Chekhov

(1860–1904), and in *The Lower Depths* of Maxim Gorky (1868–1936). Since the 1917 revolution, the course of Russian literature has largely, but not wholly, reflected the political preoccupations of the régime; outstanding modern writers include Boris Pasternak (1890–1960) and Ilya Ehrenburg (1891–).

7. In addition to its usefulness for travellers in the Soviet Union or in other Slavic-speaking countries (most of whose languages are close enough to Russian so that they are more or less mutually comprehensible), Russian has come to be a major language of scientific communication, especially in the natural sciences.

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APPENDIX B • *Phonetic and Phonemic Symbols*

This list gives all the symbols that are used in the course of our discussion, in either phonetic or phonemic transcriptions. They are arranged in the order of the Roman alphabet, with a description in technical terms and with approximate equivalents (if available) in English. Square brackets enclose phonetic transcriptions: slant lines, phonemic transcriptions.

Symbol	Description	Approximate English Equivalent
a	low central unrounded vowel	*a* in most Americans' *father*
æ	low front unrounded vowel	*a* in *hat*
ɑ	low back unrounded vowel	*o* in American *hot*
ã	low central unrounded nasal vowel	*an* in French *sans* "without"
b	voiced bilabial stop	*b* in *bib*
β	voiced bilabial fricative	*b* in Spanish *haba* "bean"
c	voiceless dental (alveolar) assibilate	*ts* in *tse-tse, cats*
č	voiceless palatal assibilate	*ch* in *church*
d	voiced dental (alveolar) stop	*d* in *did*
ð	voiced (inter)dental fricative	*th* in *this, breathe*
e	tense mid front unrounded vowel	*a* in *bate*
ə	mid central vowel	*a* in *sofa*

Symbol	Description	Approximate English Equivalent
ɛ	lax mid front unrounded vowel	*e* in *bet*
ɛ̃	mid front unrounded nasal vowel	*ain* in French *bain* "bath" or *em* in Portuguese *bem* "well"
f	voiceless labio-dental fricative	*f* in *fife*
g	voiced velar stop	*g* in *gag*
ǧ	voiced palatal assibilate	*g* in *gem*
γ	voiced velar fricative	*g* in Spanish *haga* "that he do"
h	voiceless aspirate	*h* in *hit*
ɥ	high front rounded semi-vowel	*u* in French *huit* "eight"
i	tense high front unrounded vowel	*i* in *machine*
ɪ	lax high front unrounded vowel	*i* in *bit*
ɨ	lax high central unrounded vowel	*u* in some pronunciations of *just* ("jist")
ĩ	high front unrounded nasal vowel	*im* in Portuguese *fim* "end"
j	high front unrounded semi-vowel	*y* in *yeast*
k	voiceless velar stop	*k* in *kick*
l	voiced dental (alveolar) lateral	*l* in *lily*
ɬ	voiced velar lateral	*l* in *bull*
ʎ	voiced palatal lateral	*gli* in Italian *figlio* "son"
m	voiced bilabial nasal continuant	*m* in *mom*
n	voiced dental (alveolar) nasal continuant	*n* in *nun*

Symbol	Description	Approximate English Equivalent
ɲ	voiced palatal nasal continuant	*ñ* in Spanish *mañana* "tomorrow"
ŋ	voiced velar nasal continuant	*ng* in *eating*
o	tense mid back rounded vowel	*oa* in *boat*
ɔ	lax mid back rounded vowel	*au* in *caught*
õ	mid back rounded nasal vowel	*on* in French *bon* "good"
ø	tense mid front rounded vowel	*eu* in French *peu* "little" or *ö* in German *König* "king"
œ	lax mid front rounded vowel	*eu* in French *peur* "fear" or *ö* in German *Röcke* "coats"
œ̃	lax mid front rounded nasal vowel	*un* in French *brun* "brown"
p	voiceless bilabial stop	*p* in *pop*
ɾ	voiced dental (alveolar) flap	*r* in British English *very* or Spanish, Italian *caro* "dear"
r̄	voiced dental (alveolar) trill	*rr* in Spanish, Italian *carro* "cart"
ʀ	voiced uvular trill	*r* in German *rund* "round"
s	voiceless dental sibilant	*s* in *sis*
š, ʃ	voiceless palatal sibilant	*sh* in *shush*
t	voiceless dental (alveolar) stop	*t* in *tut*
θ	voiceless dental fricative	*th* in *thick, bath*

Symbol	Description	Approximate English Equivalent
u	tense high back rounded vowel	*oo* in *boot*
ʊ	lax high back rounded vowel	*oo* in *foot*
v	voiced labio-dental fricative	*v* in *valve*
ʌ	tense mid central unrounded vowel	*u* in *but*
w	high back rounded semi-vowel	*w* in *wow*
x	voiceless velar fricative	*ch* in German *Bach* "brook"
y	high front rounded vowel	*u* in French *tu* "thou" or *ü* in German *süss* "sweet"
z	voiced dental sibilant	*z* in *zeal*
ʒ	voiced dental assibilate	*dz* in *adze*
ž, ʒ	voiced palatal sibilant	*z* in *azure*

Diacritical Mark	Description	Approximate English Equivalent
ʔ	voiceless glottal stop	"catch in breath" in *uh-uh* ("no")
: and -	length	Latin *vītā* /wi:ta:/ "in life"
˘	shortness	Latin *vītă* /wi:tă/ "life"
ʼ	aspiration	English *pit* ['pʼɪt]
~	nasalization	French *bon* /bõ/ "good"
ˈ	full stress (in phonemic transcription)	*eating* /ítɪŋ/ ['itɪŋ]
ˈ	full stress (in phonetic transcription)	

Diacritical Mark	Description	Approximate English Equivalent
ˈ	intermediate stress (in phonemic transcription)	*hat-rack* /hæt + ræk/ ['hæt-ˌræk]
ˌ	intermediate stress (in phonetic transcription)	
ˆ	falling pitch	Ancient Greek ὀρῶν/orôn/ "of mountains"
¿	sharply falling pitch	(see p. 142)
̣	retroflex articulation	Telugu /oḍḍu/ "to the riverbank"
ʲ	palatalization	Russian пить /pítʲ/ "to drink"
+	internal open juncture	(see *hat-rack*, above)
¤	syntactic doubling	(see p. 152)

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The typographical style of our listings is that of Hockett.

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